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ABSTRACT

This monograph, written for vocational counselors and teachers, addresses employability for youth from both career counseling and guidance and transitional education perspectives. The section on employability counseling focuses on the ingredients of employability, youth employment conditions, classes of employment and unemployment, and underemployment. Both unemployment and underemployment are presented in terms of who is affected, differences among youth groups, and individual and social consequences. The second section of the monograph addresses the school to work transition, focusing on decision making skills and strategies, the labor market, and barriers to work. Adjustment to work is discussed in the areas of economic, social, and psychological adjustment, peer group support, and skills. The section on employability counseling defines the counselor's role, competencies, and counseling techniques. The monograph concludes with a discussion of intervention strategies designed to enhance employability, such as programs in industry, the job training partnership act, and community programs. A comprehensive bibliography is appended. (BL)

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COUNSELING YOUTH FOR EMPLOYABILITY: UNLEASHING THE POTENTIAL

Edwin L. Herr • Thomas E. Long

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COUNSELING YOUTH FOR EMPLOYABILITY: UNLEASHING THE POTENTIAL

by
Edwin L. Herr
and
Thomas E. Long

CG 017398

Good counselors lack no clients.

Shakespeare
Measure for Measure
Act I, Scene 2

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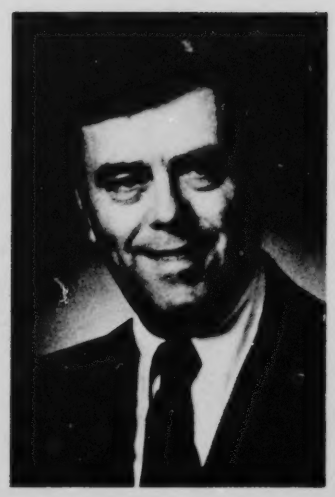

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COUNSELING YOUTH FOR EMPLOYABILITY: UNLEASHING THE POTENTIAL

Prologue

Nations throughout the world are embarked on efforts designed to enhance youth employability. Such approaches vary in emphasis and in the elements which comprise them. In some nations the major concern is how to make the content and process of education more career relevant for all students. Other nations are occupied with the creation of transition services designed to help young people move from school to work. Many nations have made major commitments to developing training programs in industry or in other postsecondary school settings which will provide general or specific employability skills to particular groups of youngsters. Still other nations have created complex economic schemes to provide subminimum wages to youths, tax incentives to employers who employ and train them, and related mechanisms to spur work experience, apprenticeships, and additional forms of work entry.

Undergirding virtually every approach to employability for youth is a comprehensive program of career counseling and guidance offered in schools, in workplaces, or in the community. Career counseling and guidance are seen by many observers as pivotal "switching mechanisms" to bring individuals and opportunities together. Counseling and guidance processes are instruments to help individuals see new work vistas and make new interpretations of their needs, values, aptitudes and skills. Career counseling and guidance afford the information, the encouragement, the support and the skill building to empower youths to actively forge a career, to participate in the personal development of their attitudes and resources as they implement skills of job access and work adjustment.

Counseling for youth employability is a complex process. It is no longer seen as a simple matter of test 'em and tell 'em. Rather, the terms "career counseling and guidance" embrace a large repertoire of techniques and skillbuilding processes by which young people are educated to choose and to plan, are taught job search strategies and interview behavior, and are made sensitive to the requirements of the

workplace and the expectations which underlie work adjustment, job satisfaction and worker satisfactoriness.

This monograph is intended to provide the reader with a comprehensive view of the work context, emerging occupations, and the general and the specific employability skills which youths will need to understand, interact with, and possess if they are to attain employability. In addition, this monograph will summarize reports of programs and techniques which have been found to be, or give promise of being, important mechanisms in facilitating youth employability. As such they represent the state of the art in career counseling and guidance.

Edwin L. Herr
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Chapter I
THE CONTEXT FOR EMPLOYABILITY COUNSELING

The United States, as is true of other industrialized nations throughout the world, is in the throes of a major transformation in its occupational structure and, therefore, in its context for employability for youths as well as for adults. Sometimes disguised in economic terms, this transition in the occupational structure is essentially the playing out of the implications for work which occur when a society moves from an industrial to a post-industrial base for its economy.

Since the late 1950's, various observers have characterized the United States and some other nations as post-industrial societies. They have argued that massive joblessness was about to occur as a result of automation and mechanization of the workplace. For most of these 20 or more years, massive, and particularly prolonged, unemployment did not occur. Therefore, the periodic recessions and temporary rises in unemployment were attributed to economic factors, rather than to the evolution of the deep structural changes in the manufacturing processes and occupational characteristics of the United States and other industrialized nations as they settled into the full reality of post-industrial status.

During the last 25 years a variety of names have been used to capture the industrial and occupational transitions underway. Space age, information age, identity society, electronic era, global village, technetronic age, superindustrial age, age of technology are but a few of the names which have come and gone in the popular press. One of the more enduring terms to emerge in the past several years is the Third Wave. In providing this term, Toffler (1980) has suggested that the magnitude of upheaval and transformation which will accompany the transition to a post-industrial society is so great that it represents the third major transition in society since the beginning of history. Its importance parallels the first two changes which have shaped the world's history: one, the agricultural revolution which changed social organizations from that of nomadic hunting and fishing groups to more stable settlements allowing for diversification of occupations; and two, the industrial civilization which for the past 150 years has dramatically defined work patterns, manufacturing processes, relationships between people and machines,

management and government structures, the use of resources, and supply-demand cycles. The next stage of civilization, the Third Wave, according to Toffler, will be characterized by high technology, anti-industrialism and anti-bureaucracy.

Whether we term what the nation will be undergoing in the immediate future as a Third Wave, as does Toffler, or the Next American Frontier, as does Reich (1983), it seems clear that the occupational structure of the future will not be what has prevailed in the past. The environment in which work takes place and the possibilities for work will differ. The context for employability will change. And, the impact of those changes will vary from one group of youths and adults to another.

At the heart of the occupational transitions now occurring is the application, indeed the exploitation, of advanced scientific technology in goods production, transportation, communication, retailing and the provision of services. Some observers suggest that this application of technology is an accelerated and more sophisticated mechanization of work (Ginzberg, 1982). At the heart of such shifts in the nature of work are computer technology, microprocessors and microcomputers, industrial robots, telecommunications, and electronic data handling.

The National Science Foundation suggested in 1982 that major emerging technologies include computer science, biological engineering, electronics, electro-optics, energy, materials, and miscellaneous (see Exhibit 1). The application of these technologies is expected to occur in such areas as electronics, communications, agriculture, chemicals, health care, mineral extraction, transportation, development of energy sources, construction, defense, and education as well as consumer goods and services.

The effects of these emerging technologies, however exotic they appear, are obviously not benign. They are changing our economy from one rooted in the so-called smoke stack industries to one characterized by the sunrise industries. The first is comprised of the high volume, standardized production of durable goods (e.g., automobiles, steel, rubber, furniture, etc.). They are large, centralized, capital and labor intensive industries. The second, the so-called sunrise industries, are those which deal much more with information generation and services and the application of advanced technology to goods production. The latter will be characterized by machines operating machines (e.g., computer-controlled machine tools, robotics),

Exhibit I

EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES

COMPUTER SCIENCE

Artificial intelligence
High-level language
Digital signal processing
Speech synthesis
Speech recognition
Speech understanding
Digitization
Packet switching
Computer-aided design
Robots
Expert systems

BIOLOGICAL ENGINEERING

Recombinant DNA
- Insulin (Human)
- Gene therapy
- Interferon

Hybridoma
Tissue culture
Enzymes
Growth hormones/vaccines
Food supplements
Embryo transfer
Micropropagation
Aquaculture
Fermentation
Soil-free cultures
Irradiation

ELECTRONICS

Microprocessors
Memory devices
Logic arrays
Sensors
Production equipment
Josephson junctions
VLSI lithography
Gallium arsenide
Bubble memory
Transponders
Earth stations
Microwave

ELECTRO-OPTICS

Lasers
Displays
Fiber optics
Optical disc
Optical computers
Semiconductor lasers

ENERGY

Photovoltaics
Nuclear fusion (hybrid)
Synfuels
- Methanol
- Ethanol

Fuel cells
Solar hot water
Advanced fission
Geothermal

MATERIALS

Polymers
Thin films
Superconductors (Cryogenic)
Metal matrix alloys
Ceramics
- High-temp/structional
- Fiber reinforced
- Metallic glasses
- Solid electrolytes

Metals
Cutting/forming
Assembly
Test and inspection
Bearings
Brazing alloys
Pressure vessels

MISCELLANEOUS

Ultrasound
Surface properties
Membrane technologies
Supercritical fluids
Controlled atmosphere
Ocean mining

Adapted from National Science Foundation, 1982.

bioengineering (e.g., the development of biological organisms to achieve industrial processes--devouring pollution, creating new medicines, etc.), and the wedding of computers or laser optics to communications. These in turn will change how banking, retailing, warehousing and inventory control, transportation, agriculture, and production will be achieved.

Machines are likely to replace many of the low skilled and semi-skilled production jobs now occupied by poorly educated or untrained workers. At the least, they will alter the mix of jobs available. For example, the current labor force is comprised of only 3 percent engaged in agriculture, 32 percent engaged in the production of goods (mostly manufacturing) and 65 percent engaged in service occupations (defined in the broadest sense to include all enterprises not engaged in the production of goods--mining, manufacturing, and construction--or agriculture). Perhaps even more dramatic is the statistic that all of the new jobs added to the economy from 1969 to 1976, 90 percent were in services (Ginzberg, 1982). This reduction in manufacturing jobs and increase in service jobs will likely continue for the foreseeable future.

One of the problems with the current transitions in the occupational structure is understanding the timing of the changes in work which are likely to occur and the occupations likely to emerge, decrease or vanish. Current perspectives on these matters as they appear in the popular press tend not to agree with available research studies on the matter. While the onslaught and the effects of advanced technology in the future are likely to be dramatic in many ways, counselors and other guidance specialists have an obligation to help their counselees keep such matters in perspective.

For example, Hunt and Hunt (1983) have recently spoken of the massive exaggeration about the effects of the robot population, robotics employment, and potential unemployment due to robotics. They state that "futurists and others compete for media attention with wild projections of the impacts of robotics--800,000 people making robots, 1.5 million technicians maintaining robots, and millions of workers displaced--with little or no consideration of the practical issues involved" (p. 42). In short, Hunt and Hunt remind us that "there are physical, financial, and human constraints on the rate of change in manufacturing process technology as it is actually applied" (p. iii). In contrast to the views of many

futurists, their research suggests that until 1990 there will be a growth rate of about 30 to 40 percent in robotics usage or roughly 50,000 to 100,000 units in 1990, eliminating over that period of time 100,000 to 200,000 jobs and creating 32,000 to 64,000 new jobs. These views are reinforced by recent Bureau of Labor statistics which show that in the United States, high technology occupations as a group will account for only 7 percent of all new jobs between 1980 and 1990. Of the 20 occupations expected to add the most jobs in the economy during this period, not one is related to high technology. Indeed, the five occupations expected to produce the most new jobs are all in low skill areas: janitors, nurses aides, sales clerks, cashiers and waiters (Levin & Rumberger, 1983).

Another important perspective is offered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in how "high technology" is defined and its impact on the labor force is foreseen. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "high technology" is used to refer to industries where technology is being rapidly exploited or the state of the art in product development is rapidly changing because of scientific or technological breakthroughs. For example, industries utilizing electronics or biochemistry often are characterized as "high tech." Actually, there are two categories of industries dealing with technology: those which are by the nature of their processes and purposes truly "high technology" and those which are "technology intensive." The differences are defined in part by (1) research and development expenditures as a percent of gross product originated and (2) employment of scientists, engineers, and technicians as a percent of total employment. Said another way, high technology industries are those which see their major business to be the creation of high technology; technology intensive industries are those which significantly employ high technology products even if they do not themselves create such products.

High technology industries typically include:

Drugs and medicines
Office, computing, and accounting equipment
Electrical and electronic equipment
Aircraft and missiles
Instruments and related products

Technology intensive industries include:

All other chemicals

All other machinery

All other transportation equipment

In addition to industries which are more or less oriented in terms of "high technology," there are also technological occupations in which an indepth knowledge of technology is essential. The Bureau of Labor Statistics defines technological occupations as engineers, life and physical scientists, mathematicians, science and engineering technicians, and computer specialists. Most jobs in other occupations, even those located in high technology industries, generally do not require an indepth knowledge of technology. Clearly, technological occupations are also found in industries other than the high technology ones.

The point of significance here, however, is that high technology industries accounted for only 4.6 percent of total wage and salary workers employed in 1980. This percent is projected to be the same in 1990 with total employment and employment in high technology industries both growing by 18.4 percent. Including the broader industry definition (technology intensive industries), the proportions of total wage and salary worker employment in these industries was 9.0 percent in 1980; this proportion is projected to remain at almost the same level in 1990 (U.S. Department of Labor, 1982).

Technological occupations, when counting those employed in any industry regardless of its state of technology, accounted for 3.4 percent of total wage and salary workers employed in 1980.. This proportion is expected to increase to 3.7 percent of the total in 1990. One further way to look at these figures is that technological occupations comprised 15.8 percent of total employment in high technology industries in 1980. This proportion is expected to increase to 17.9 percent in 1990.

Since high technology industries comprise a relatively small proportion of total employment and are not expected to grow significantly faster in employment than the rest of the economy, it is not likely that high technology industries on a national basis will absorb large numbers of unemployed and displaced workers. Moreover, at least for the technological occupations within these industries, pre-employment education and/or training requirements would preclude easy entry by displaced workers.

The Ripple Effects of Advanced Technology

Technological applications to work throw a long shadow. Although we have space here to provide only a few glimpses of the ripple effects which are associated with such transitions, their impacts upon all facets of society are broad and deep.

One example of the long shadow of technology is the unemployment rate. While we frequently attribute employment and unemployment rates to changes in the economic fortunes of the nation--recessions, depressions, booms--they are increasingly a function of occupational transitions. For example, we see this in communities with only one major industry when a plant closing or relocation causes unemployment rates of 25 percent and more of the labor force. But, it is also evident in reduced work weeks, underutilized industrial capacity, and rising fixed costs, which result in frequent corporate or personal bankruptcies. Accompanying such effects are rising demands upon unemployment compensation and other social benefits to displaced workers which place the financial integrity of such support systems in jeopardy, as vast amounts of dollars go to recipients and taxes from still employed workers drop proportionately. Rises in the unemployment rate are also accompanied by large amounts of mental illness, child abuse, suicide, substance abuse and spouse abuse (Liem & Rayman, 1982). In many instances, the integrity of family units becomes vulnerable to the variety of stresses which accompany the uncertainty of unemployment.

Perhaps the most obvious effects of technological changes in work have to do with where work is done and who does it. As any trip across the United States will illustrate to the perceptive viewer, many types of work are being decentralized. Factories and workplaces are becoming smaller in size and moving into "industrial parks" or other locations away from the center of cities and into suburban locations or rural areas. To be sure, work possibilities still remain in the urban area, but the character is changing from manufacturing to retailing, investment, entertainment and other service industries. These changes in where work is done and the kind of work available affect such things as the need for transportation to work, the requirements to get work, and the availablility of full time or part time work.

These conditions obviously have major effects upon youth. While adult unemployment rates have vacillated from 8 to 12 percent over the past five years, youth unemployment rates have been consistently twice that high, and for minority youths in inner cities they have tended to be consistently 50 percent and more.

Youth unemployment rates are complex matters. In some cases, they reflect what kind of work is available where the youths live or their ability to get to where the work is located. In other cases, the issue is one of whether they have the skills or the "teachability" to do the jobs available. At the heart of these matters is the problem of youth employability.

Employability Defined

In a society where the occupational structure is in a major state of flux, the employability of the population becomes a major social concern. The employability, as well as the employment status of different population groups, has much to do with whether the occupational changes underway can be achieved successfully and what effects will occur in mental health, individual security, family characteristics and other important matters.

Employability is not a new concern to American professionals interested in counseling and career development. It is, however, one which is capturing considerable attention because of its importance and complexity. It is increasingly acknowledged that unemployment is not simply an individual misfortune. Its social, psychological, and economic significance is a matter of concern to the community and to the nation at large.

Employability refers to a composite set of traits and skills which permit the individual to meet the demands of the workplace (Herr, in press). A decade ago, Dunn (1974) noted that employability is of two types—general and specific. "General employability" includes such variables as work behaviors, social development, physical endurance, and basic academic skills. General employability skills apply to many work environments and jobs. General employability skills can be thought of as those which relate to one's accommodation to and integration into the workplace.

The term "specific employability skills" refers to one's ability to complete the specific tasks required on a particular job. Specific employability skills relate to one's ability to be a producer on a specific job and, perhaps, in a specific setting.

Since employability can be broken into its general and specific components, knowledge of these elements can provide the structure for evaluating one's readiness as well as one's preparation for work. Such evaluations permit educators to plan and deliver programs which will address both the general and specific employability needs of new American workers.

The Ingredients of Employability

General and specific employability have different content. General employability is the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors which permit one to plan for, access, and adjust to work in any setting. Specific employability consists of the work performance skills required in a specific job or occupation.

General Employability Skills. The importance of general employability skills for youth is apparent in a number of studies which have examined the transition from school to work. One of the major studies in this area is that of Haccoun and Campbell (1972), who found that work entry problems of youth clustered into two broad classes. First, those which had to do with performance on the job itself: responsibility, maturity, attitudes and values, work habits, adustment to peers and supervisors, communication, taking on new values, self-image, coping with automation and new technology. Second, those which had to do with getting access to work and planning for or managing a career: job seeking, interview and test taking, geographic mobility, family and personal situational adjustment, job layoffs and rejection, prejudice and discrimination, occupational aspiration and job expectations, career planning and management. Collectively, these two classes of work entry problems constitute a diagnostic profile and topics which can be used to develop skill building experiences for youths who are contemplating work entry or having difficulty with adjusting to work.

The findings of Haccoun and Campbell (1972) are congruent with many of the insights obtained from the research of Kazanas (1978). In an effort to address what he has described as "affective work competencies," he has identified a variety of behaviors important to job adjustment and stability. Again, these tend to be those

primarily concerned with work values, habits and attitudes rather than specific job performance skills. In his view, specific job performance skills tend to become obsolete more quickly than affective work competencies, what we have earlier called general employability skills, because of the major transitions in occupational content which we described as happening in the mechanization of work and the resulting changes in the mix of jobs available in the agricultural, manufacturing and services industries. As a result, general employability skills are more enduring and serve as the mediators or stimulators of one's willingness to learn new work roles, accept supervision, adapt to work routines and time requirements, and engage in cooperative relationships with co-workers. Kazanas has isolated some 63 affective work competencies which in different work settings are related to one's job adjustment and continuation in a job without difficulty. These affective work competencies include among others: punctuality, honesty, cooperativeness, dependability, emotional stability, loyalty, and judgment.

There are several other terms which capture aspects of general employability in ways which reinforce the research findings of Haccoun and Campbell or Kazanas. For example, some European nations describe the needs of youths for "industrial discipline" as they enter the work force. Indeed, it is expected that school programs will help students to acquire behaviors assumed under industrial discipline rather than to learn job performance skills. In Europe and in some other parts of the world, the teaching of job performance skills is thought to be the responsibility of employers or postsecondary training schemes rather than a part of secondary schooling. Thus, schools would be expected to be concerned with general employability skills, not specific employability skills.

Industrial discipline is frequently expected to include the knowledge and attitudes which underlie willingness to follow work rules, regular and punctual attendance at work, pride in work quality, follow through and self-discipline, ability to understand the rules, values and expectations which govern life in an organization. Herr (1982) has described these as work context skills.

Another way of conceiving some of the major general employability skills is to think of them in terms of self-management skills (Herr, in press). Typically, self-management skills would include those used to forge a career: decision making, job search strategies, ability to identify and use exploratory resources appropriately,

creating an effective balance between work and leisure as well as the integration of family, work, and community roles. These skills are those by which one can be purposeful, plan a career, narrow and value alternatives, and translate desired choices into actualities.

Specific Employability Skills. General employability skills are extremely important to gaining and to maintaining employment. However, they are necessary but not sufficient to maintain employment. Every job or occupation has its own set of technical skills which are required to perform the work involved. These technical skills may be as basic as the ability to read, write, or do arithmetic, or they may include the most sophisticated of psychomotor, cognitive, or affective skills. Specific employability skills may be those required in a particular occupation (e.g., accounting, carpentry) or those required in a specific firm or work setting. In the latter circumstances one is likely to need both the skills of an occupation and the skills applied to a particular machine, process or procedure found only in that particular setting.

Employability and Employment: Synonymous?

Employability relates to one's potential for adjusting to and being productive in the workplace, on a job. To be employable means that one is conceptually, psychologically, and occupationally prepared to perform in the workplace. On the other hand, to be employed means that one holds a job. Employability skills, therefore, are utilized and demonstrated fully only when one is employed; until that time they are matters of potential, not achievement.

Employability says one is capable of being in the workplace; employment says one is in the workplace. Employability is learned and demonstrated. Employment is experienced. Only after one fulfills employability potentials and finds a job is employment status achieved. Employability relates to capability. Employment relates to placeability.

It seems clear then that employability and employment are not synonymous terms. Yet, to the American worker, both are vitally important. The individual citizen's employability is related to the nature of one's personal skill gap--the

difference between skills possessed and the skills needed to enter and survive in the workplace. The smaller the gap, the greater the employability. The greater the employability, the greater the chance for employment. The person's possibility for employment is also related to the environmental job gap with which he is linked. The job gap is the difference between the number of workers available and the number of positions available to be filled. In general, the smaller the gap, the greater the chance of employment, although it is possible for workers to be advantaged when a large gap occurs. For example, in instances when there are too few workers for the positions available, the basic argument here would not prevail as portrayed. Under current economic circumstances, that is less likely than the other possibilities discussed.

For some individuals, the employment issue reduces to a "not yet" scenario. That is, the potential worker needs to develop more general or specific employability skills to be employed in the jobs available. One notes that in such a case, a skill gap deficiency exists. For others, employment relates to a "not now" scenario, one characterized by no jobs being available or the individual being unavailable for work, due, for example, to service in the military, waiting for release from a correctional facility, or recuperating from illness or injury. These are examples of job gap employment issues. Sadly, for some people considering present occupational conditions, a "never" employment scenario looms. Those falling in this category might suffer from permanent and incapacitating disability, inadequate motivation, functional illiteracy or permanent institutionalization. Such examples reflect skill gap/job gap problems associated with both employabilty and employment.

Figure I illustrates skill gap/job gap relationships. The upper half of the circle attends to one's employability problems related to personal skill levels. The lower half of the circle concerns environmental employment opportunity. The upper left arc of the circle represents the skills possessed by the individual job seeker. The upper right arc represents the skills required by the job sought. The smaller the skill gap between skills possessed and skills required, the better the employability.

The lower portion of the circle illustrates the employment opportunity issue. The lower left arc represents the number of job seekers and the lower right arc represents the number of positions available to be filled. In general, the smaller the job gap, the better the opportunity for work.

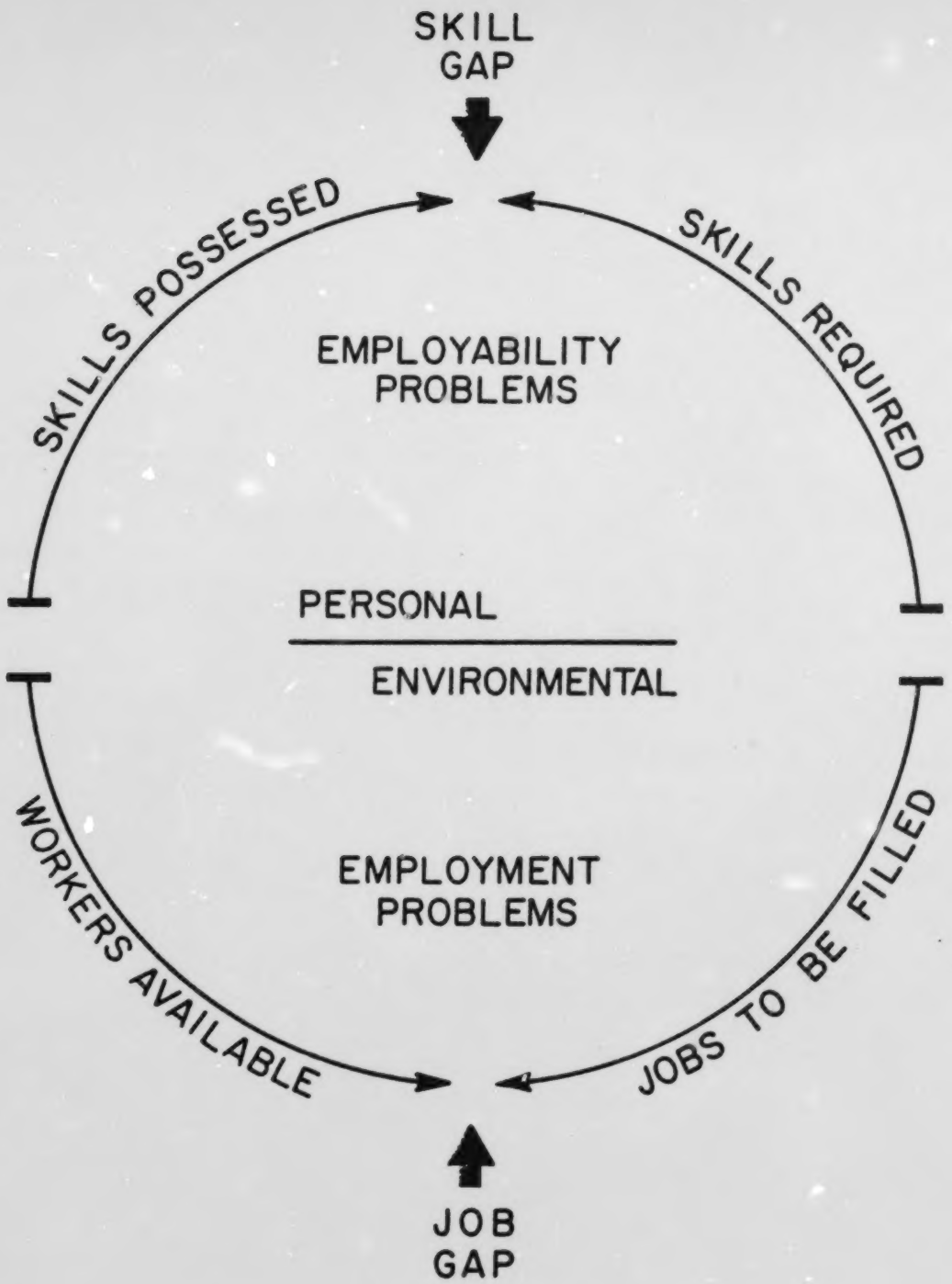

FIGURE 1

SKILL GAP-JOB GAP PARADIGM

The job gap/skill gap theme further attests to the complexity of and difference between employability and employment. Respectively, the terms relate to one's preparation for work and finding a job, to individual development and economic ebb and flow, and to readiness and opportunity. They are neither interchangeable nor synonymous, but they both relate to one's motivation, preparation, and capability for work and one's opportunity to work.

Youth Employment Conditions—The Concern

Employment conditions, opportunities and concerns for young people vary with the times. A major concern for youth employment occurred in the turbulent 1960's. At that time, the baby boom "youth bulge" was in college, in early work stages, or in the military. The Vietnam War affected the distribution of persons among those options. Those who were trying to secure work and establish or prepare for careers were experiencing the first economic and occupational spasms related to the arrival of the post-industrial society. Blacks and women were moving into and competing in the labor force in greater numbers. Then, too, the economic, political, and moral sensitivities of youth were assaulted by the war with its wasteful expenditures, both human and monetary. Many youths felt that hostilities should cease and that the expenditures of war should be diverted to domestic social and economic needs. For a variety of reasons, large numbers of young people felt disenfranchised from participation in the political, economic, and occupational spheres of society. They became militant. Society responded to what some describe as the tantrums of the 60's with increasing concern for youths' participation in the society, including their employment, and to their adaptation to social and economic conditions related to the growing effects of the computer, the laser, and the rest of high technology.

Youths and their advocates sensed with new urgency that their work needs and investments depended on both individual and societal conditions. Those concerns have been reflected in legislative, social, economic, and educational responses to the unmet needs of youths. For example, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, the various amendments of the Vocational Educational Act, the Career Education Incentive Act, and the Job-Training Partnership Act were put in place to assist various groups of youths in understanding and planning for the world of work or training for specific jobs. These pieces of legislation vary in whether they emphasize general employability skills, specific employability skills, or both.

Youth Employment Conditions—The Current Situation

In his discussion of conditions in the youth labor market, Passmore (1980) noted that youth unemployment will continue to be determined by the uncertainty of products and resources. He noted, too, that the effects of social influence on lifestyle, legislation, and health of the economy will have their effect on youth opportunity, as will such issues as sex participation rates, ethnic discrimination, the changing nature of work and work-leisure patterns.

A favorable factor for the future is the demographic shift in the youth population. Bowman (1977) concluded that the 1985-1990 growth rate for the labor force will be about two-fifths that of the 1975 rate. He also noted that the number and proportion of youths in the labor force will decrease markedly in the late 1980's. Flaim and Fullerton (1978) and Easterlin, Wachter, and Wachter (1978) have made predictions similar to those of Bowman. In a similar vein, Dietrich (1983), speaking on issues of educational reform at the June 1983 MECA (Making Education Grow with America) conference, stated that the year 1990 will see 25 percent fewer high school graduates than recent years. Such a fact will increase the value of these graduates to employers. Basically, a supply-demand situation in favor of young people is emerging. As colleges, business, industry, commerce, and the armed forces compete for their decreasing numbers, it is likely that for the next decade, until the children of the current mini-baby boom come to adolescence, youth unemployment rates will decrease.

Factors other than the size of the youth population which are related to the possibility of and conditions for youth employment are those associated with education, experience, social interventions and opportunity. In a joint report published by Youthwork, Inc. (1982), and the Institute for Educational Leadership, the following were described as conditions (causes) that affect youth employment:

1. Deficiencies in basic skills development.
2. Lack of work experience, job seeking and keeping skills.
3. Shortage of job opportunities.
4. Racial discrimination.
5. Age discrimination.
6. Technological revolutions in the workplace.

7. Jobs and youths being in different geographical locations.
8. The increasing number of young workers and disadvantaged youths as a percentage of all young people.
9. Lack of jobs paying well and providing opportunity for mobility.
10. Restrictions of protective labor laws.
11. Breakdown of social institutions, including the family.
12. Attractiveness of street life and the subterranean labor market.

The Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment (1980), after interviewing youths, reviewing programs and conferring with national and community leaders, reported that:

1. Youth employment problems and opportunities are unevenly distributed.
2. Many youths lack the basic academic skills needed to get a job.
3. Most youths have no resumes or work experience which are used to sort out applicants for hiring.
4. Federal employment and training programs must be made simpler and more flexible, with less red tape.
5. Young people need reliable information about jobs and support from community assistance groups during the school to work transition.
6. Community-based and voluntary organizations are well suited for working with youths who have serious employment problems.
7. A partnership of business, schools, labor unions, community-based organizations and government is needed to serve young people.

Further perspectives on current labor conditions are provided by Christensen (1982) who listed the following as causes of youth employment trends: labor force competition, literacy problems, school enrollment problems, minimum wage coverage, change in wage differentials between youths and adults, social and ethnic discrimination and shifts in occupational and geographic demand structures.

Regardless of how one classifies factors affecting youth employment or unemployment, it is obvious that some of these factors lie outside of young people's control and result from economic cycles and supply-demand phenomena. Some factors lie in the nature of adolescence and young adulthood itself, and others lie within the individuals. For example, Godwin (1976) has reported that youths are particularly affected by cyclical down turns in the economy. In such a circumstance,

if employers have a choice they are more prone to pay minimum wages, for example, to experienced workers who need work than to youths who do not yet have a work history. This is a condition beyond the young workers' control.

But in addition, the years of many youths are years in which to "shop around," to explore, not to view a particular job as a permanent commitment. Osterman (1978), as a function of interviews with young people and with corporate executives, has vividly described the youth labor market. He noted primarily that when individuals enter the labor market after leaving high school, they generally are not in a state of mind to be stable, reliable full time employees. For many, sex, adventure, and peer activities are more important, and jobs are viewed only as being instrumental to getting money for those other activities. He used the term "moratorium stage" to describe this period where weak labor force attachments permit some youths to change jobs and move in and out of the labor force frequently. The moratorium stage concerns the degree of investment in being in the labor force for many teenagers. Reaching the late teen years or the early twenties causes a moratorium remission. Incrementally higher wages, maturation, lower unemployment rates, marriage and peer pressure contribute to the decline of the moratorium stage. Elwood's research (1979) among a group of young male employees suggests considerable evidence of weak labor force attachment in ways similar to that characterized by Ostermann.

Obviously, in many cases, youth employment problems are exacerbated by attitudinal, knowledge, or skill deficits experienced by particular individuals. A number of studies attest to the presence of such deficiencies in the lives of young workers (Hoyt, Evans, Mackin & Mangum, 1974; Richards, 1980).

Employment Conditions Differ by Youth Groups

Godwin (1976) suggests that labor market conditions vary for different groups of young people. For example, studies show that rural youths suffer from a lack of job opportunities and information about jobs and they have fewer agencies to serve them. Because of relocation of jobs from the inner cities to other areas, many economically disadvantaged inner city youths experience growing job scarcity. Youths who are in school or live at home have mobility restrictions not common to older age groups. Godwin also noted that discrimination of all types--racial, sexual--

affects young people and that data projections indicate that youth unemployment is increasingly becoming a problem of race.

Not achieving academically in school is a major issue related to subsequent youth unemployment (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1982). When poor academic achievement is combined with early school leaving and minority status, the probabilities of unemployment rise dramatically.

Quarles and Hannenberg (1982) have described the causes of high youth unemployment as follows:

> A substantial proportion of youths are disadvantaged, facing barriers in finding employment. These barriers include inadequate training and marginal basic skills. Moreover, many are lacking the attitudinal and job-seeking skills necessary to gain and maintain jobs. For the most part, the jobs available to teenagers are at the bottom of the scale. Predictably, many of these jobs have few incentives for both the employer and the employee to develop long-term relationships. Dead-end jobs tend to produce high turnover and high unemployment even when overall unemployment is low. Fundamentally, the problem of youth unemployment is the same as that of the adult population—not enough jobs to go around. The rate of youth unemployment mirrors and magnifies the larger problem of the economy. However, unemployment hits young people from poverty-level and working-class families hardest. (p. 63)

For many economically disadvantaged and minority youths, employment and unemployment are multi-dimensional matters. For example, Miller and Oetting (1977) surveyed over 400 disadvantaged youths and adults and developed a list of 37 barriers to their employment in 11 categories. These barriers included child care, health, transportation, social and interpersonal conflicts, financial problems, legal problems, emotional-personal problems, drug and alcohol abuse problems, job qualifications, discrimination, language and communication problems. Such research serves to alert the counselor that dealing only with choosing an occupation or even preparing for it is not likely to be sufficient unless other personal and situational problems are dealt with as well. While only a superficial treatment of some of the aspects of employment conditions for youths, these perspectives lay a base for understanding the different categories of their employment and unemployment.

Classes of Employment and Unemployment

Counselors and lay persons alike frequently treat employment and unemployment as though they were each singular terms having only one meaning. Employment and unemployment are broad categories which, in reality, include a number of classes of behavior. We will discuss these classes of behavior in a few paragraphs. Beforehand, however, it is useful to acknowledge that employment and unemployment are what government definitions and statistics say they are. If definitions or procedures used to calculate employment and unemployment change, so do the meanings of the terms. Let's look at such calculations and definitions briefly.

Employment Data—The Measures

The report, Employment and Earnings, each month describes the monthly surveys of the American population conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. These Current Population Surveys (CPS) collect data about the employed, the unemployed, and persons not in the labor force concerning their occupational, personal, and other characteristics.

A scientifically selected sample of civilian non-institutionalized respondents is interviewed to obtain information about the employment status of each member of the household 16 years of age and older. About 60,000 household units are visited each month. Part of the sample is changed each month. The rotation plan provides for three-fourths of the sample to be common from month to month, and one-half to be common with the same month a year earlier. Inmates of institutions and persons under 14 are not included in the regular CPS monthly enumerations.

The following definitions have been used since 1967.

> Employed persons are (a) all civilians who, during the survey week, did any work at all as paid employees, in their own business, profession, or on their own farm, or who worked 15 hours or more as unpaid workers in an enterprise operated by a member of the family; and (b) all those who were not working but who had jobs or businesses from which they were temporarily absent because of illness, bad weather, vacation, labor-management disputes, or personal reasons, whether they were paid for the time off or were seeking other jobs. Members of the Armed Forces stationed in the United States are also included in the employed total.

> Each employed person is counted only once. Those who held more than one job are counted in the job at which they worked the greatest number of hours during the survey week.
>
> Included in the total are employed citizens of foreign countries who are temporarily in the United States but not living on the premises of an embassy. Excluded are persons whose only activity consisted of work around the house (painting, repairing, or own home housework) or volunteer work for religious, charitable, and similar organizations.
>
> Unemployed persons are all civilians who had no employment during the survey week, were available for work, except for temporary illness, and (a) had made specific efforts to find employment sometime during the prior 4 weeks, or (b) were waiting to be recalled to a job from which they had been laid off, or (c) were waiting to report to a new job within 30 days. (U.S. Department of Labor, 1983, p. 143)

In employment data and literature, statistics, while informative, are relatively sterile pieces of information. They only represent one fact--the number of persons who fit into different classes of employment or unemployment. Roderick and Kohen (1973) observed that one's employment status is an interaction between the characteristics of the labor market and a variety of individual characteristics. While data provide numbers, the conditions of employment, unemployment, and underemployment have meanings which are economic, sociological, psychological, even spiritual to some. Numbers and aggregated data do not necessarily stimulate thought about the frustration, alienation, the reduced sense of self-worth, dashed hopes and plans, the foiled full integration into society for those individuals who experience the absence of income and other satisfactions derived from work.

In 1980, the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment estimated that four million youngsters, ages 14-21, would face serious problems in getting employed. Then, too, Quarles and Hannenberg (1982) stated that one-half of the unemployed persons seeking work are young people 16-24 years old. These estimates both document unemployed youths' need for work. The unemployed label suggests that they are looking for work. What about those not counted because they are not looking? What do those statistics say about individuals counted? Do they want full time or part time work? Would they be satisfied with after school, summer, or Christmas season employment? At what would they prefer to work? What would constitute underemployment in terms of each person's ambitions? Let us consider the broad span of these issues.

Youths in Full Time Employment

As has been suggested elsewhere in this chapter, according to many writers youths are considered to be in the marginal or peripheral labor force. Their labor force involvement is generally casual, intermittent, and part time (Bowers, 1979; Osterman, 1978). School dropouts and persons in their late teens and early twenties are those most likely to seek full time work. But dropouts have trouble finding full employment. Camp, Gibbs and Monagan (1980) observed that the very reasons which prompt many students to leave school, namely failure, differentness, and low income family membership, make them poor candidates for successful employment. Moreover, for a variety of reasons, some already discussed, youths enter, leave, and re-enter the labor force until they find and are ready to commit themselves to a permanent full time job. For most, a process of compromise emerges over time which structures the young worker's attitudes, self-esteem, and commitment to available opportunities.

Other barriers exist to prevent young people from working full time. These include time spent in schooling, lack of motivation, lack of experience, age, the fact that some employers do not consider youths for full time positions--some employers want only part time youth employees who can be paid off-the-record. Then, too, full time employment may not be permanent employment. It may be temporary and even very short-lived.

The trend, however, is for youths to spend more time working when work is available. Steinberg, Greenberger, Garduque, and McAuliffe (1982) stated that relatively more teenagers work now than 40 years ago. Also, those working now work more hours than did their predecessors. They cite the fact that in 1960 only 44 percent of 16-year-old in-school males worked more than 14 hours a week. In 1970, 56 percent did so. The corresponding rise for females was from 34 to 46 percent. Young people who look for full time positions go into competition for jobs with their more mature, more experienced, and available family members and friends. In times of economic distress they seem more destined to lose the contest.

Youths in Part Time Employment

Most teenagers go to school full time and work part time when they can. Since school is considered by some to be a holding tank for youths in times of a crowded labor market (Passmore, 1982), part time work may be a wise choice. Levin (1980) noted that the individual who obtains more schooling is likely to displace one with less schooling in the job line. Part time work for many youths may be a leisure-filling activity to earn "pin money," while for others having a job is an economic necessity and their wages contribute significantly to family income. For the former, the part time work selected can relate to individual choice. For the latter, the need to work for economic reasons overarches the priority of individual choice and the issue becomes more problematic.

In any case, school attendance is a large factor in youth employment patterns where even the fact of enrollment might be a response to one's perceived prospects for a job and the economic or social conditions extant in the society (Bowers, 1979). If youths do not think they can get a job or believe that they can improve their job prospects with additional education, remaining in or returning to school is a legitimate alternative to work and a "safe haven" until work conditions improve.

Youths who wish or need to work but cannot, however, pay a penalty. Elwood (1979) observed that the effects of a period without work can continue when work is found. He noted that teenagers who spend time out of work will probably work less time in the following year than they would have had they worked the entire preceding year. Also, he felt that the major persistent effect of unemployment would be the lost work experience on future wages. Other writers feel that part time work and sporadic employment may demonstrate or imply weak labor force affiliation and commitment to prospective employers.

Much literature, in fact, contests the effects of youth joblessness which accounts for some considerable portion of part time work patterns. For example, studies have been done on the temporary and permanent effects of youth unemployment on subsequent wages and the amount of work experienced in later years. The findings are equivocal and uncertain. Many writers conclude that there are consequential and lasting impacts of early unemployment; others conclude that there are only minimal effects.

The effects of joblessness should be different for youths who are in school full time and who cannot work part time, and for youths who are out of school and desire any work, whether full or part time. The evidence suggests that out of school youths who are dropouts are not likely to be employed even part time, and that older out of school youths and, in particular, graduates, have a better chance of employment.

If the part time work patterns of young people relate to the voluntary abstension from full time work commitments, no problem exists. If, however, they relate to the unavailability of work opportunity, the counselor would have to deal with sets of problems associated with either employability or placement. Only discussions with individual clients can discern the nature and extent of the problem if one exists.

Unemployment

Unemployment, as Herr (in press) noted, is not monolithic in its structure. There are many types of unemployment and each affects different groups in different ways. Kroll (1976) identified four types of unemployment: structural, seasonal, cyclical, and frictional.

Structural unemployment is that type of unemployment in which potential workers are not qualified for the jobs that exist. Structural unemployment is precipitated by changes in industrial technology, the lack of appropriate training programs for citizens, new employment conditions, and plant relocations. The unskilled, the mentally deficient, the neurotic and the emotionally disturbed are all frequently classified as being structurally unemployed. Structural unemployment tends to be of long duration.

Seasonal unemployment relates to joblessness associated with changes in weather or markets (Christmas vacation, harvest time). The major industries affected by seasonality are agriculture, construction, and recreation. Seasonal unemployment trends and effects can be anticipated. Seasonal employment and unemployment are generally of short duration.

Cyclical unemployment relates to the peaks and valleys of economic activity. Peaks are associated with high employment; valleys with unemployment. Monetary

policies, inflation controls, population demographics affecting demands for certain types of goods production, tax structures, and credit availability, among others, affect consumer demand and service markets. Each contributes in its own way to the nature and duration of cyclical unemployment.

Frictional unemployment is the type of unemployment associated with moves from school to the first job, or the transitory idleness of persons moving from job to job. It is generally of short duration.

Over the ages, absence from work was considered to be voluntary. The views of the early American Puritan toward work were such that labor was needed from everyone for survival and for salvation. That work ethic which outlined the need to work and the penalty for avoidance of work was dominant until the Great Depression. Until the 1930's the absence of work was not much of an issue at all. If individuals did not work for whatever reason, societal perspectives were that this was an individual problem, not one for broad government intervention. The Depression helped the citizen and the bureaucrat to recognize unemployment for what it was--a social problem which militated for governmental attention. Unemployment was no longer viewed as being a personal problem which simply could be alleviated by the individual deciding to go to work.

Economists, legislators and other policy makers today are increasingly sensitive to the fact that the jobless rate has significant effects on the entire social order. Regarding the social costs of unemployment Keyserling (1979) noted that from 1953 to 1979 the oscillations in the American economy were responsible for the loss of over seven trillion dollars of GNP, and nearly two billion dollars of public revenue. D. G. Johnson (1981) cites the fact that an increase of one percent in the unemployment rate boosts Federal expenses by 64 percent. Such outlays include the following transfer payments: aid to families with dependent children, unemployment compensation, food stamps, and Social Security supplements. That same one percent increase in the jobless rate would add about one million persons to the jobless rolls and, barring temporary offsets, would reduce real GNP by nearly three percent (Pierson, 1980). Depending upon what one includes in the calculations of the lost revenue and costs of social services to the unemployed, the current estimates suggest a 20-30 billion dollar loss for each percentage point of jobless increase.

Unemployment also exacts personal costs to youthful citizens beyond those already mentioned: lost wages, work experience, and successful integration into the labor force. Research shows the following must also be included: stress, shame, dissatisfaction with other aspects of life, internalization of guilt, alcoholism, sexual impotence, depression, mental illness, suicide, involvement in criminal activity, and family pathologies exemplified in child and spouse abuse. Unemployment, through the ripple effect, touches not only the unemployed, but all family structures with which they are associated.

The counselor interested in the mental health issues related to unemployment is referred to the work of Dumont (1977), which discusses the negative mental health aspects of the American economic system, the stress, mental illness and family problems associated with unemployment. Also of interest here is the work of Levine (1979) who described the psychological and social effects of unemployment on young people. Levine describes three progressive stages of reaction: (1) optimism, (2) ambiguity and (3) despair with their associated feelings of boredom, identity diffusion, guilt and shame, anxiety and fear, anger and depression. Levine also discusses action strategies to serve unemployed youths.

Who is Affected by Unemployment?

If unemployment is composed of different types and caused by different factors, it is reasonable to assume that population groups will not experience unemployment equally. In the United States, the current unemployment picture is described in the following information. The overall unemployment rate as of October, 1983, was 8.8 percent. The following percentages reflect the rate of unemployment for various sub-groups in the populations:

Adult Men	8.2%
Adult Women	7.4%
Whites	7.7%
Blacks	18.1%
Hispanics	12.3%
White Teenagers	18.5%
Black Teenagers	48.3%

("Unemployment's Steady Slide," 1983)

Ten million people in the United States are still out of work, but the jobless rate is falling. A cursory look at the data suggests that black teenagers, white teenagers, and blacks in general have significant employment problems. This is no surprise—it has been the employment picture for the better part of the last 30 years.

Differences Among Youths in Unemployment

While current unemployment rates are serious and frustrating for all the groups affected, the rates are staggering for minorities and youths. Unemployment rates for teenagers and young adults have been persistently higher than those for adults (Passmore, 1982). In addition, unemployment tends to fall most heavily on those who have little education, few skills, and low incomes (Pierson, 1980). Further, it is known that blue collar workers with lower levels of education are more likely to experience periodic layoffs than are their white collar and better educated peers.

Mare and Winship (1982) state that racial differences have grown in the proportion of the youth population that is employed and the proportion of the youth labor force that is unemployed. The black-white unemployment rates for 18-24 year olds showed a difference of 5.8 percentage points in 1954. In 1960 that difference grew to 8.7 percentage points. It was 12.0 in 1970 and 14.5 in 1980.

Godwin (1976) states that the unemployment rate for teenagers has not been less than 10 percent since 1953. Moreover, he asserts:

> Between 1957 and 1962, the unemployment rate for workers between 16 and 19 was three times higher than that for the labor force as a whole. Between 1962 and 1968, it was more than five times higher; and between 1968 and the present, when the national rate increased steadily from 3.6 to 8 percent, the teenage rate rose from 13 to 21 percent.
>
> Unemployment in the next older group (i.e., 20-24) has been consistently lower than that for teenagers but also consistently higher than that for workers between 25 and 65. (p. 146)

Clearly, one's age, even when young, is a factor related to unemployment. Levin (1980) states that the probability of unemployment falls rapidly as individuals approach the mid-twenties. While such a notion may be accurate in general, it obscures the different effects of that phenomenon.

Adams and Mangum (1978), as a result of several studies of youth unemployment, have shown that beyond a predictable period of trial and experimentation, joblessness among teenage youths who have left school carries with it a "hangover effect." Problems of unemployment as teenagers leave school and enter the labor force do not simply "age out" for all individuals. For some, such early problems of job access and continuity are predictive of later labor market problems in early adulthood and beyond. Periods of unemployment represent loss of work experience, credibility as a worker, information and skills which may place the person at a competitive disadvantage for available jobs and also cause an injurious effect on attitudes toward work. Jagged early labor market experiences, then, potentially result in a permanently underemployed if not unemployed cadre of persons who never "catch up" with their more advantaged contemporaries whose smoother transition to the work force gives them a competitive edge throughut their work life.

Ginzberg (1980) has observed, from data over selected non-recession years, that young white women aged 18-24 experienced a significant rise in their unemployment rate. Over the same time span, the data indicate that for young blacks, male and female, the unemployment rate almost doubled and in some cases almost tripled.

Passmore (1981), in reviewing the literature on unemployment trends, cites the following findings:

1. The labor force participation rate for women has increased dramatically over the last 30 years. That period has shown a slight decline in labor force participation for men (Bednarzik & Klein, 1977).
2. The participation rates for 16-17 year olds have been lower than those of 18-19 year olds (Bednarzik & Klein, 1977).
3. In the 16-19 age group, white youths have participated at higher rates than blacks (U.S. Department of Labor, 1979).
4. After recessionary periods, blacks do not recover employment prospects as successfully as whites (Newman, 1979).
5. Both married males under 20 and prime age males have strong attachments to the labor force. Single males and females under 20, however, have relatively low participation rates, and married females under 20 have increased their labor force participation (Bowen & Finegan, 1969).

6. Regional and rural/urban unemployment rate differences exist (Browne, 1978; Westcott, 1976).
7. School enrollment status is related to youth employment status (Young, 1979).
8. The unemployment rates for white, black, and Hispanic youth dropouts were more than double those of high school graduates and three times that of college graduates (Young, 1979).
9. Unemployment rates were highest among youths whose families had annual incomes of less than $10,000 (Young, 1979).

These findings bear out Levin's (1980) notion that the probability of youth unemployment is hardly a random event that affects all social groups equally.

Individual and Social Consequences: A Summary

The literature is replete with monographs and articles attesting to the destabilizing consequences of unemployment to both self and society. Some of the alleged outcomes or after-effects of unemployment are primarily the perceptual musings of various professional observers (economists, sociologists, psychiatrists). Other observations are buttressed with research data which have been subjected to complex analysis. Nevertheless, most postulated effects are mired in controversy. The literature related to the consequences of unemployment is anything but united. A sampling of this literature follows.

Costs to Society. Some observations consider the effects of youth employment on the social order. These are costs which are distributed among all citizens. They affect the Gross National Product of the nation. The main effect of unemployment on society is considered to be lost production and its effect on economic output. A second major expense is the actual monetary outlay to the unemployed. This expenditure includes all transfer payments to support the unemployed during their period of joblessness. In an earlier section the magnitude of this social expenditure was discussed.

Costs to Self. A large portion of the literature is devoted to the consequences of unemployment for the individual, the private costs borne by the unemployed themselves. These include lost earnings, depreciated richness and reward for subsequent labor force participation, and loss of credibility as a worker. Included in

the latter category are reduced opportunities for subsequent employment and reduced future earnings due to the loss of developmental increments of promotion, seniority, skill acquisitions, and knowledge of the work system.

Also to be considered as private costs are those previously discussed which relate to mental health, stress, alienation, despair, family pathology and suicide. Other personal costs are those associated with the use of one's time when one is not invested in work, schooling not included. Included here are peer-influenced drug and alcohol abuse, with their own invidious problems, and those activities involved with mischief, vandalism and crime. Hoyt (1977) cautioned, "Youth with nothing to do, seldom do nothing."

In the literature, much of the relationship between social and private costs and unemployment is shown to be merely that--correlational. Causality is rarely shown though widely imputed. Youth advocates in many professions are calling for robust longitudinal studies which will plumb the concern and prove the facts.

Underemployment

Underemployment is an issue which receives a periodic surge of attention. Unemployment statistics are judged to be inadequate in indicating the true extent of employment problems. Some of the attention directed toward the underemployment issue might enable labor statisticians to ameliorate the current harsh unemployment statistics by redefining and explaining some of it away. Then, too, better definitions and specifications would enable the concept to be better studied.

International labor statisticians in 1966 defined underemployment as a condition where a person's employment is inadequate in relation to specified norms or alternative employment (International Labor Office, 1976). They also identified two types of underemployment: visible and invisible.

Visible underemployment reflects a condition where an inadequate amount of work exists. That is, the individual works fewer than normal or desired hours and would accept additional work. **Invisible underemployment** relates to conditions associated with low income, low productivity, and underuse of personal skills.

Underemployment is referred to by O'Toole (1977) as working at less than one's full productive capacity. He notes that in many jobs all that a person is that is not useful will be excluded; alienation and estrangement from one's interests, needs and capacities occur. As there is an unemployed person there is also an unemployed self.

The President's Committee to Appraise Employment and Unemployment Statistics (1962) considered underemployment to be employment of persons at jobs calling for less than their highest level of skill at wages that are less than those they would receive if their skills were fully utilized. Bjorkquist (1970) defined underemployment as that condition where individuals have ambitions and aptitudes exceeding those required on the job.

Lauterbach (1977), in writing about visible, invisible, and potential underemployment, offered a possible definition for the problem. It is "a condition under which people are engaged in some amount of (directly or indirectly) remunerated work which, however, is not sufficient in its regularity, productivity and institutional setting to yield an economic reward above a level of bare subsistence at best" (p. 294).

In the literature, synonyms for underemployment are found. These include occupational mismatch, overeducation, and skill underutilization. These relate respectively to placement, training, and job expectation issues. Adequate responses to underemployment in the work/training area will need the aggregated thought and action of many diverse professional groups.

Who is Affected by Underemployment?

Underemployment is a condition which can be experienced only by the employed. However, the relationship between employment, underemployment and unemployment is not purely an either/or matter. For example, lack of employment may encourage staying in school to avoid being unemployed. Although little data are available on this subject, avoiding unemployment may indirectly lead to being "overeducated" for the jobs that exist upon completing school. A serious problem today for many college graduates, whatever their motives were for going to school, is their inability to find jobs in the career fields for which they have trained, with the result that they accept employment in jobs requiring less skill or creativity than they are capable of. Moreover, for them as well as other underemployed workers,

the personal and social distress associated with underutilization of talent and skills creates frustration and morale problems which can be a form of "social dynamite" in its negative effects upon work settings or the larger society. At the least, people who feel that they deserve a better job than they hold suffer from status conflict (O'Toole, 1977). O'Toole noted, too, that highly qualified workers often bump slightly less qualified workers from their job. Since the jobs do not require the higher skill levels brought by the better educated workers, productivity drops. The higher level skills and capabilities are unused and the more highly qualified person is more likely to be dissatisfied with the job. In such instance, they have great potential for occupational and social pathology.

Differences Among Youths in Underemployment

The poor, minorities, women and youths--those sometimes classified as being in the peripheral or marginal labor force--might have their labor force participation better characterized by use of the term underemployment rather than unemployment (Gordon, 1972; Harrison, 1972). O'Toole (1977) notes that the labor market has failed to meet the underemployment problems of such groups as women, the disadvantaged and subprofessionals. According to him, "The effects of underemployment are thus distributed differentially across the spectrum of workers, hitting hardest those with personal characteristics that have 'low market value.' That is, blacks, women, those with little schooling, old people, young people, and even ugly people. These people do not have a share of good jobs proportionate to their share of human resources (in terms of talent, skills, intelligence, willingness to work, and so forth)" (p. 13).

Individual and Social Consequences: A Summary

The literature reflects the importance of work to the creation of one's lifestyle and to one's sense of self. Jacques (1961) states, "a man's work does not satisfy his material needs alone. In a very deep sense, it gives him a measure of his sanity" (p. 25).

Work, therefore, is capable of lending its own varied sense of fulfillment, self-efficacy, and satisfaction to life. When that sense of psychological satisfaction is diminished, often accompanied by deficient income, apathy, and cynicism, the individual is besieged with feelings of disillusionment and aberration that are similar

to those discussed as a consequence of unemployment. Underemployment is related to jobs that are "too small for one's spirit" (Terkel, 1974, p. xxiv). O'Toole (1977) cites one of the problems of underemployment as employment of the body with unemployment of the personality.

Since investment in work is valuable and since early work experience is described by some as having great influence on one's future work investments, underemployment, the partial disenfranchisement of young people from full blown work experience, is potentially troublesome to both the individual and the society. Motivation is as important for youths as for others. It is likely that motivation is shaped to some degree by opportunity. Non-existent, limited or reduced opportunity thus has devastating implications for young potential workers.

Furthermore, underutilization of the nation's human resource pool emanates directly from dysfunctions in the important and complex relationship between institutions of education and work (O'Toole, 1977). That relationship must be better studied, understood, and improved for the benefit of youths and all citizens in the society. Counselors in schools and community settings must recognize that youth unemployment and underemployment are far from benign in their effects upon the individual or the society. Major emphases in guidance and counseling must be directed to helping young people become employable in an age of shifting opportunity.

Chapter 2
THE SCHOOL TO WORK TRANSITION

Chapter 1 encompassed many of the elements of the current context for employability counseling. Chapter 2 will discuss more specifically the mechanisms involved in the school to work transition.

Differences Among Youths in the Meaning of and Purpose for Work

Work in America (O'Toole, 1972), the report of the Special Task Force reporting to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, noted that youths subscribe to the work ethic and are as committed to the institution of work as their elders have ever been. The task force further noted, though, that many youths are not looking for meaningless work in authoritarian settings that offer only extrinsic rewards. Over the past few decades, as the general levels of education have risen, youths have changed their job expectations. The general trend has been from a search for job security and dependence to a desire for work that is felt to be important to the individual, interesting, challenging, and which offers more personal decision making and autonomy (Yankelovich, 1981).

Related to these shifting job expectations are other issues that counselors should consider. Of paramount importance is the issue of job need. There are differences in various groups of youth in why they work and what they expect of work. While it is well documented that many young people vacillate between working or looking for work and not working or looking, there are other pieces of evidence related to youth work patterns. Minority youths, for example, work for different reasons than white youths. Minority youths are likely to work or want to work for reasons more closely related to economic security and survival. Though there are exceptions, white youths are less likely to work to satisfy "survival" needs. They work most often for the "extras" or supplements to a lifestyle that is basically not impoverished. For the bulk of these two groups work has a different utility. Beyond necessity, the work of each group extracts a different meaning,

purpose, investment, and tolerance. The need for work for most minority and disadvantaged young people is more insistent. Because of the intensity of their economic needs and the limits on opportunity, almost any job will do, even a bad job will do. It has been noted that many minority youths view jobs that offer intrinsic rewards greater than the basic income needs as absolute luxuries (O'Toole, 1972).

Another group difference in work patterns is seen between youths in the teen years and older youths. Teenagers are more likely to be in school and looking mainly for part time jobs. They move from job to job and into and out of the labor force quite often. Their needs are more related to obtaining money for recreation and other interests than to the intrinsic satisfaction of work. Older youths, 20-24, are willing to change in their commitment to work. Their needs, and consequently their work behaviors and investments, change in relation to their motivation, their disassociation with schooling, and emerging peer and marital responsibilities.

The meaning of work is also related to gender. It has been estimated that nine out of ten women will work outside the home at some time in their lives. In recent years, womens' consciousness raising through the educational efforts of women's groups and other advocates, and the effects of anti-discrimination laws have helped many women upgrade their career aspirations. Many now look for work outside the traditional female work roles of secretary, teacher, nurse, waitress or clerk. Moreover, the status of women workers is improving with their increasing presence in diverse occupational roles. The facts are clear--more women work as work roles change and opportunities for work blossom (Long, 1978).

The stereotype of the woman homemaker is decreasing as homemaker work for many women is supplanted or shared with work in the labor force. Young women who marry face the paid work/homemaker role dilemma. For those who conceive and bear children and wish to remain in the labor force, child care problems loom. These young mothers, however, after a short absence from the labor force, are finding it easier to return to the labor force with the development of nursery and day care centers in many communities.

Young married women who work outside the home do so for various reasons. Some pursue career plans, others work primarily to supplement the income of their husbands to enable a lifestyle that one income alone could not provide. Frequently, teenage wives work to enable their husbands to complete their education before

childbearing begins. In some cases, due to the high incidence of teenage pregnancy and early divorce, some teenage mothers are single parents who have responsibilities as head of the household. They work for economic survival.

In sum, work holds different meanings for different groups of youth. Available information indicates that most youths want to work but what they want from work varies, depending upon whether they are still in school or out of school. In general, youths, like adults, seek work which is interesting and meaningful to them, but economic necessity will cause them to compromise between the kind of work they prefer and the kind of work available.

Decision Making Strategies

However central or peripheral work's meaning is to an individual, that meaning is ultimately conveyed through the decisions one makes. Thus, decision making is the central mechanism by which one translates knowledge and attitudes toward self and knowledge and attitudes toward work into a plan of action. Obviously, this plan of action can reflect inaccurate or limited information about self or about opportunities, and difference from one time to another in the meaning that work has for an individual. Nevertheless, decision making is the way one translates one's knowledge and attitudes into a set of goals or, less systematically, into the choice or the avoidance of a particular opportunity.

There are many models of how decisions are actually made. Bergland (1974) has summarized a consensus view of the decision making process. He contends that such a process would include a sequence of the following events: defining the problem, generating alternatives, gathering information, processing information, making plans and selecting goals, and implementing and evaluating them.

Gelatt (1962), in discussing decision making, noted the importance of the amount and accuracy of information available to the decider. It is axiomatic that information helps to delineate realistic opportunities as well as the risk system that the decider would encounter in choosing various alternative courses of action. Risk taking postures differ with individuals. They range from the tentative and cautious to the bold and adventuresome. They may be associated with whimsy and caprice.

Youths should be counseled to cope with these extreme and potentially troublesome behaviors when they occur in relation to occupational and career decision making; they also should be helped to view decision making as a process which can be learned and which can be fueled by accurate information.

Beyond the need for information, planning, and risk management in decision making activities, Herr and Cramer (1979) note that the current state of the art in relation to decision theory suggests that the individual needs a prediction and valuing system. The former serves to clarify the odds of different opportunities being available and accessible; the latter, to clarify the value or priority of different alternatives to the person. These systems enable decisions to be made using both preferences and expectancies related to the chosen course of action.

Although it has become increasingly evident that decision making is an important mechanism by which one chooses, plans, and adjusts to work, youths vary substantially in their knowledge of the decision making process and how they use it. Jepsen (1974) studied youth decision making patterns and identified some 12 strategy types. The major factor used in classifying strategy type was the extent to which youths organized information about themselves and their career possibilities and used that information in planning. Thus, the 12 strategy types differ in the investments in planning which distinguish their decision making. Examples of three of the strategy types will illustrate Jepsen's view of individual differences in decision making.

Strategy Type 3. Sought little career information and viewed current actions as relevant to planning. Considered only a few occupational alternatives and few reasons for considering either occupations or post-high school actions. Few outcomes were anticipated for preferred post-high school activity.

Strategy Type 6. Named many alternative occupations and post-high school activities and reasons for each. Many possible outcomes were anticipated, many intrinsic and self-appraised reasons were given. Planning activity was very high.

Strategy Type 9. Very few actions were taken on plans and little information was sought. Vaguely stated and low level occupational alternatives were reported, and a single class of reasons was given for considering them.

The research of Jepsen on the planning investments made in decisions about work attests to the need for counselors and other youth career workers to recognize each youth's individual style of dealing with information and his/her depth of

planning in relation to that information. In many instances, this will require the teaching of a decision making process to youths as well as giving assistance with values clarification, self-assessment, and other matters discussed in subsequent chapters. Of particular concern in dealing with decision making is the nature of a particular youth's decision about work. For example, is the decision related to an attempt to find a job, long or short term, full or part time, primarily to earn personal income? Or, does the decision reflect concern for preparation for work: ambivalence about choice of a curriculum, a type of proprietary school, a college major? Does the decision focus on clarifying and acting upon an intermediate step toward long range aspiration? Is the work under consideration being chosen for reasons broader than income alone?

Counselors working with youths on early decision making, job search, and placement activities should help them consider the personal meaning of work and its utility to them. Counselors must also help them recognize that one creates reality by the decisions one makes or avoids. Therefore, it is important to consider the interaction of knowledge about personal characteristics and how they may be met in the training and work opportunities available as well as how adept one can be in applying the decision making process itself.

Resources Used

Knowledge of the work-a-day world is related to one's success in entering, adjusting to, and surviving in the workplace. For those in school, work world knowledge promotes better course and curriculum choice which in the long run also affects the transition from school to work. Employability counseling rests upon the use of information which is accurate and relevant to the decisions in which a particular youth is engaged.

Related to the decision strategy types identified by Jepsen (1974), as described in the previous section, is the research of Pitz and Harren (1980) that suggests a person will seek information only if the perceived payoff is greater than the cost of the information. They cite the example of the impulsive decision maker who wants to terminate the decision process as quickly as possible and who makes a decision with minimum information. An agonizing decision maker, on the other hand, "may continually seek information to avoid the act of commitment to a particular choice

and its attendant course of action" (p. 325). Other research suggests that occupational information influences occupational perceptions and that the same information can produce varied perceptions on the basis of the perceiver's age and occupational status (Remenyi & Fraser, 1977). Drier (1980) has made the important observation that career information is not simply career facts or job data. Career information results, he maintains, when a user attaches personal meaning to information.

Borow (1980) has discussed two other essentials of occupational information, at least as used on the secondary school level. He argues that it should be presented so as to broaden the range of options and stimulate exploration rather than to narrow choices and hurry decisions. He further urges that occupational information give major attention to the psychosocial characteristics of work, such as the interpersonal factors and peculiar values identified with various types of work.

The facts seem to be, however, that many youths apparently suffer from a lack of information which would ease their transition from school to work. Many also suffer from a lack of assistance in considering such information when it is available. In their national study of career development, Prediger, Roth, and Noeth (1973) found that half of the eleventh grade students they studied had received little or no assistance with career planning, even though it was the guidance service most frequently checked as needed by the students.

Counseling programs must be structured to better assist youths with unmet career needs, and counselors should be instrumental in helping them clarify their career need structures. However, this appears not to be the case. When 17-year-old youths were asked whom they consulted and discussed career plans with, parents were cited by 62 percent, followed by peers 38 percent, school counselors 35 percent, teachers 14 percent, and other adults 14 percent (Katz, Miller-Tiedeman, Osipow, & Tiedeman, 1977).

Another major national study, conducted by the Educational Testing Service, (Chapman & Katz, 1981), provides considerable evidence that the resources students use most, although not exclusively, are <u>not</u> those provided by the school. Students seem to use informal resources more than formal ones. Parents or relatives, friends and employed workers rank one, two and three as persons students had talked with about occupations. Counselors and teachers lagged far behind. Parents or relatives

and someone in the proposed line of work were named as frequently as formal publications, and considerably more frequently than counselors and teachers, as the source of information about an occupation the student was considering. The desired information concerned education and training requirements for entry, earnings, job security, the opportunity to help others, and the activities the work entailed. Such data suggest that the resources of the school guidance program, namely those of the counselor, are underutilized in serving young people's career information, decision making, and assistance needs.

That parents have a prime role in influencing their children's educational and career development is indisputable. The fact is amply documented in the literature. That parental assistance is always positive and developmental, however, is quite disputable. It seems axiomatic that parents who are largely uninformed about work and career issues, or who are traumatized by their work or their poor placement and investment in it, if working at all, would be at best poor resources for youngsters interested in resourceful career information and assistance. With regard to assistance from other family members, Rees and Gray (1979) state that the employment probabilities of youths are significantly improved if they have siblings who are in the labor market.

Since available evidence suggests that information about work, jobs and the labor market is dispensed most often by young people's social milieu—parents, family, neighbors and peers—this group's low level of accurate and comprehensive information may restrict labor market participation of one generation and perpetuate itself in subsequent generations (Johnson, 1979). Becker (1979) stated that one reason for the black/white difference in youth unemployment is the difference in access to information and job leads when using one's personal assistance networks. Becker also noted that many studies show that recruitment of new workers by current employees is found to be a heavily used practice. That practice would have detrimental effects on those whose family, neighbor, and peer referents are themselves poor participants in the labor force.

Osterman (1978) interviewed youths concerning work and unemployment issues. He found that white youths landed jobs through the intervention of friends who informed them of jobs where they worked, or they found jobs through parents, relatives, or neighbors who knew someone who could make a job available. Other

methods included employment agencies, want ads, and multiple applications in door-to-door plant visits. The informal networks, however, dominated all other sources of jobs for white youths.

Consider that many minority children come from poverty level homes where the father is absent, where the mother works infrequently or not at all, and few neighborhood occupational role models exist. Their personal resource network is minimal at best, and they most urgently need high order advocacy, assistance, and career directions.

The U.S. Department of Labor reported the following job search methods to be most used by wage and salary workers who sought work in 1972:

METHODS USED TO SEEK AND FIND WORK
(1972)

Method	Job Search		Job Finding	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total (thousands)	10,437	100.0%	10,437	100.0%
Applied directly to employer		66.0		34.9
Asked friends:				
About jobs where they work		50.8		12.4
About jobs elsewhere		41.8		5.5
Asked relatives:				
About jobs where they work		28.4		6.1
About jobs elsewhere		27.3		2.2
Answered newspaper ads:				
Local		45.9		12.2
Nonlocal		11.7		1.3
Private employment agency		21.0		5.6
State employment agency		33.5		5.1
School placement office		12.5		3.0
Civil service test		15.3		2.1
Asked teacher or professor		10.4		1.4
Went to place where employers come to pick up people		1.4		0.1

Placed ads in newspaper		
Local	1.6	0.2
Nonlocal	0.5	(a)
Answered ads in professional or trade journals	4.9	0.4
Union hiring halls	6.0	1.5
Contact local organizations	5.6	0.8
Placed ads in professional or trade journals	0.6	(a)
Other	11.8	5.2

(a)Less than 0.05 percent

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers, Bulletin 1886 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), pp. 4 and 7.

A recent study of Pennsylvania high school graduates of a decade ago reports the resources used by those young adults when they looked for work. Herr, Weitz, Good, McCloskey and Long (1981) conducted an 8-10 year follow-up of former high school students who are involved in The Pennsylvania State University's longitudinal Vocational Development Study. The students involved had been part of the longitudinal project since they were junior high school students. Data were collected from the 957 respondents about a number of career variables including occupational status, career maturity, full and part time jobs held, salary, occupational plans, and perceived career obstacles, among others. One piece of information collected related to non-family/peer resources used by respondents when looking for work since leaving high school.

The study reports the number and percentage of respondents by sex and by curriculum (academic, general, vocational education, business, home economics) who used the resources reported below in their job search activities. The following list shows the aggregate rank order of resources used by respondents.

Newspaper Classified Ads	66%
United States Employment Service	43%
College Career Development & Placement Agencies	22%
Private Employment Agency	18%
Professional Publications	12%
High School Counselor or Teacher	9%
Professional Organizations	8%
CETA	8%
Veterans Administration	4%
Labor Union Publications	4%
Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation	1%

Considering the foregoing data from various sources, school counselor interventions in youth work transitions seem to be minimal. They would remain minimal even if all school placement and teacher efforts aimed at direct assistance to youths in the transition to work could be claimed by guidance workers.

Exploration and Induction Mechanisms

Many professionals feel that positive developmental understandings about and appreciations of work come from work experience. Work experience helps youth bridge the change from learning to producing; it provides a transition between the preparatory and the entry stages of a career (Long, 1983).

Some persons have argued for using work as an instrument of behavioral modification. In essence, this notion suggests using work itself as a motivational or mediational force by which other guidance outcomes can be achieved. For example, if we want young people to understand the interdependence of the occupational structure, to learn how to manage or organize time, to learn how to develop realistic self-appraisals of strengths and weaknesses, we typically use such mechanisms as discussions, films, gaming, tests which are removed in time and format from that to which they are related. With the possible exception of some segment of youth engaged in vocational education or Federal projects such as the "Job Corps," we have rarely explored the use of work experience as a guidance mechanism for a whole range of adolescents.

An expansion of cooperative education at the secondary school level or in postsecondary school settings might be more clearly seen as having guidance implications than is now true. Such programs are essentially processes of behavioral change for youths through experience. At one level, experience comes from determining immediately how to apply at work what one has learned in a classroom. At another level, experience comes from being adult-oriented at the work station rather than youth-oriented. In this sense, youths have the opportunity to experience work norms as lived by adults rather than speculate about such things with their peers. In addition, work experience programs assist the youth to view his or her characteristics and how work is done in a holistic, interactive way. Frequently, classroom study fragments employability traits, work habits, human relations, and communications into small increments for purposes of learning. But in the real world, all of these elements are part of a complete and constantly unfolding fabric which requires individual judgment and discrimination if work identity and adjustment are to result.

Work experience viewed in such terms provides a potential medium for a youth to test, with the help of a guidance specialist, which career development tasks have been incorporated into his or her behavioral repertoire and which tasks still need honing. As such, these experiences provide goal direction for further learning and planning with specific focus on maximizing employability.

Participation in work experience programs, cooperative education placements, volunteerism, part time and summer work all introduce learners and novice workers to the realities of the workplace. The many benefits of involvement in exploratory, educational and part time work investments include: socialization to the workplace, development of occupational and employability behaviors, economic understanding, reality testing and accreditation of past and related studies (Long, 1983). All youth labor market experiences provide some type of awareness about the workplace. The best experiences are those that are supervised. Some such programs have highly structured educational components associated with them. In some, the novice worker earns income. Some are inductive, exploratory, and educational experiences which occur in conjunction with regular schooling. Some are conducted by business and industry such as the Bloomingdale Project (Lorber & Schrank, 1964) which trained inner city minority youths in department store work, interviewing, and job

applying skills. The project was a joint effort of Bloomingdale's, Mobilization for Youth, Inc., and a local union. The hypothesis that minority youths with training and reinforcement can succeed in jobs in middle class settings was supported. Three months after training, 19 of the 29 trainees were employed. Six school dropouts were trained for jobs that they normally would not have been qualified for, and two were hired by Bloomingdale's.

When students are exposed to work through such programs, that work has the power to influence the student's participation and investment in school itself. The work experience can provide direction to learning in school and to planning for additional education.

According to Isaacson (1977) work in relation to education can be (a) exploratory--promoting observation and routine skill development; (b) general--promoting overall social, emotional, and psychological development in relation to work; or (c) vocational preparatory--developing specific vocational skills.

Blackwell (1982) has cited work experience placements as work site learning. Learning is the major outcome. The work site is only instrumental to the learning. Most youths who work for pay, particularly teenagers, do so in the lowest of service jobs where the future is limited and the pay is low. At best, these kinds of jobs can offer little in training except that associated with general employability skills and adjustment to the workplace. Nevertheless, those work experiences, even in jobs with limited reward and potential, are laden with information and value, attitude, and behavior influencing exposures. Contacts with the world of work, paid or unpaid, full or part time, help prepare youths for general employability--that is, for investment and adjustment, for eventual successful and permanent induction to the labor force as an adult.

Readers interested in a comprehensive review of programs which have demonstrated success in improving the transition from school to work are referred to the report School to Work Transition: Review and Synthesis of the Literature by Youthwork, Inc., (1980). The report is comprehensive, including sections on career information, guidance, and job seeking skills; academic credit for work experience; youth participation; private sector involvement; efforts with high risk youths; and school to work transition for the handicapped.

Job Search Skills

Another major aspect of exploration and induction is job finding. Job finding is a series of learnable skills (Wegmann, 1979a, 1979b) comprised of information seeking, communication and interviewing techniques. Yet, many youths have inadequate perceptions of how to find work, what to expect at work, and what work can mean to them. Lathrop (1979), speaking of job search issues, noted that research shows that job applicants who learn the most successful job search methods are hired two to three times faster than those who do not learn such skills. By learning job search methods the person can facilitate landing a job that is satisfying. In the process, the youth learns to use new skills and the services of those who can be of assistance in the job hunt. In this vein, Bolles (1979) states that all persons or groups giving assistance to job hunters divide into two groups: advocates for the employer or advocates for the job hunter. Employment agencies, job banks and other recruitment services tend to be advocates of the employer. They try to get the person to fit the job. Bolles urges those needing job search assistance to consider finding someone who takes the client as the one to be served.

Adams and Stevenson (1978) have reported that important differences can be found between youths and adults in their methods to seek employment and in the intensity of their search. For example, teenagers are less likely than other job seekers to use a public employment agency in the job search and more likely to apply directly to employers. To the extent that it reflects intensity of search, the average number of methods used by teenagers indicates a less intensive search than that of other job seekers.

Research shows that job seekers who join clubs greatly enhance their job search success when compared with those who look for work on their own. Azrin, Flores and Kaplan (1975) have reported work with a job finding club in Illinois. Eligible club members were those who were unemployed, seeking full time work, and not receiving unemployment compensation. After counseling, the typical club member started work in 14 days compared to control group counterparts who averaged 53 days. One month after club counseling began, two-thirds of the members had obtained a job. Only one-third of their non-counseled counterparts had done so. The counseled group found more skilled and professional jobs and earned more as a starting salary than non-club member controls. Members of the Job Club met daily until a job was

found. Club members role-played interviews, learned telephone contact skills, prepared resumes and discussed grooming and appearance standards for personal contacts and interviews. Family members of club participants were acquainted with the club program and job seekers' needs. Their emotional support for the job seeker was solicited.

In subsequent work the Job Club was coordinated wth the WIN program of the Department of Labor to assist welfare clients in finding employment. Five pilot programs were established. Clients were randomly assigned to a Job Club or to routine WIN services as a control. Of those clients who did not default from their program for absence or other reason, 80 percent of the Job Club and 46 percent of the controls found jobs. The Job Club members typically found jobs faster. See Wegmann (1979b) for a complete review of the Job Club, WIN and related programs. Counselors who work with minorities are referred to W. L. Johnson (1981) for a report on special groups that help minorities find jobs. Resources for working with and assisting Latin Americans, dropouts, women, Asians, and others are identified.

Job search skill training programs help learners to break into what is referred to as the "hidden job market." That market is the one that exists and is not advertised or well known. It is the market that opens through one's personal contacts or the referrals of family, friends and neighbors.

Wegmann (1979a) notes that job search training works because:

1. The job club type search is a full time job.
2. The program gives family and social support to club members which is necessary to sustain a continued effort.
3. The program stresses direct approaches to potential employers as its major thrust.
4. There is intense preparation for the employment interview and all personal employment contacts.
5. The program is upbeat. It offers continuous reinforcement to members' confidence and attitude.

The success of job club and job search assistance programs is further attested to in contemporary society by the many industries in America which give their dismissed employees professional "outplacement" assistance. Such programs also attest to the need for job search assistance by workers at all levels, blue and white

collar. Of 140 major corporations polled in 1983, 24 percent offered outplacement counseling ("New Growth Industry," 1983).

Availability of Work For Youths

The Primary Labor Market

As youths leave school and enter the labor force they approach jobs that hold different degrees of desirability for them. The most desirable but least accessible jobs fall in what is referred to as the primary labor market (Doeringer & Piore, 1971; Osterman, 1978). That labor market is characterized as having the most stability. It offers workers stable employment. It pays well, and provides career ladders and promotability with inservice training. In short, it offers opportunity and benefits other than wages.

A problem associated with the primary labor market is that young people with poor labor force attachments and unstable employment patterns are not the kind of workers desired by primary firms. Youths entrenched in the moratorium stage with its tenuous work commitments and sporadic work experience patterns are most likely not to be considered highly for primary labor force opportunities. Just as youths have differing preferences for types of work, the primary labor market has preferences regarding the type of worker it seeks. In most instances, youths who offer less occupational stability, less than a high school diploma, and poor job search skills are not considered for most positions in the primary labor force.

The Secondary Labor Market

Jobs in the secondary labor market, as compared with the primary labor market, are likely to be unskilled or semiskilled jobs. They pay minimum or close to minimum wages. In many instances, only general employability skills are needed to hold them. Little training, if any, is given. The jobs are typically viewed by workers as short term, casual jobs to which they have no long term commitment. The jobs of fast food workers, packers, loaders and stock clerks characterize the secondary labor market. The secondary labor market is characterized by persons with weak labor force attachments and limited experience, the traits which also characterize young workers.

Osterman (1978) notes that stable primary firms tend to close off employment opportunities for youths, thereby limiting many of them to unstable secondary firms. He believes that this hiring pattern is the underlying structural cause of unemployment for out of school teenagers.

Employers that youths approach for jobs are likely to be primarily involved in either the primary or the secondary labor market. However, regardless of the major labor market approached, most employers have at least a few jobs which reflect the characteristics of the other labor market.

Self-Employment

"Within the next year more than 2.5 million businesses will change ownership, and countless thousands will open their doors for the first time" (Goldstein, 1983, p. ix). This prediction suggests that youth opportunities for self-employment are great—for example, neighborhood work, peripheral service to business and industry, home care, animal care and jobs in the craft industry, among many others.

Youths are limited only by their imagination and resourcefulness in promoting self-employment. Some investments in self-employment have turned into full time business ventures for the young adult. It is not uncommon to see three or four young people form a corporation designed to develop software for microcomputers, or to create a janitorial service, or a musical group which flourishes and becomes a major enterprise.

Youths with knowledge and skills, discipline, business sense, and hard work can meet their needs in self-employment. The needs that might be satisfied by youths in self-employment can be as diverse as balancing full time study with part time work, filling seasonal employment demands, meeting the income needs and expectations of teenagers for "pin money," or those needs for stable income at later ages when one's entrepreneural activities might blossom into full time work.

Capable youths might be encouraged to consider entrepreneural and self-employment schemes to meet their labor force needs. D. Brown (1980) listed the following as being the intangible talents of the entrepreneur: enthusiasm, endurance, conclusiveness, leadership, product pride, marketing skills, nerve, and shrewdness. These traits are described as being more influential on success than business plans, product and market decisions, and financing packages.

The entrepreneur is often considered a maverick who rejects the forty hour work week for a more flexible, enduring, self-controlled investment of personal labors. Brown states that for the entrepreneur the business serves as the hobby, vocation and creative force.

The Armed Forces

Youth career opportunities of all types are also available in the Armed Forces of the United States. Not only is the military instrumental in providing work for many youths, male and female, it also provides them with training for work. The United States military offers the largest and most diverse on-the-job training and specialty education system of any establishment anywhere. At any given time at least 10 to 15 percent of armed forces personnel are receiving formal school training and one million more are enrolled in correspondence courses (Evans & Herr, 1978).

Most military personnel receive some training that would be useful in civilian life. To be used in the civilian labor market, however, both an honorable discharge from the military and a successful transition to work has to be effected. One's military experience can be short term, giving travel, job experience and training. Or, it can fulfill a long term education and work career plan which offers retirement at its conclusion. Regardless of its duration, a military experience is most often followed by a period of work in the civilian labor force. For most veterans, however, disengagement from the military is accompanied by a period of job search, unemployment, and trial jobs (Mare & Winship, 1982). That period for veterans is very similar to that experienced by those entering the labor market after leaving school. A potential moratorium may exist. Some remain unemployed. Others experience high layoffs or job disruption due to low seniority or to employer dissatisfaction with their performance. Some are felt to lack work experience and on the job training, and they may be reluctant to take jobs at the prevailing wage rate (Mare & Winship, 1982).

Veterans, nevertheless, who have discipline, training, direction, and job search skills have great potential for employment. Military service, like extended schooling, generally increases youths' employment prospects. When engaged in those activities, youths acquire assets which make them more desirable in labor market competition. The accumulated assets include maturation, age, training, and, for some, work experience.

Barriers to the Transition to Work

In Chapter One, a number of the causes of youth unemployment were identified. In a major sense, these causes of unemployment also reflect barriers to the transition to work--the thwarting conditions which inhibit, limit, or discriminate against youths as they move through their early encounters with the labor market.

In broad terms, the barriers to work include:

1. The demographic bulge of young people in the labor market in recent years which has significantly increased the competition for jobs at a time when the economy was providing fewer jobs for new labor market entrants.
2. The requirement to pay youths minimum wages that employers view as exceeding the value of their productivity and thus make youths non-competitive with adults who are [illegible] work and seeking job opportunities.
3. The [illegible] education and training in some parts of the nation and for some groups of youths who, as a result, lack functional literacy as well as general employability skills.
4. Poor economic conditions under which youths suffer from underemployment relatively more than older cohorts (Levin, 1980).

These four general categories of the barriers to work have been elaborated by Passmore's (1982) extensive review of the literature on youth unemployment. He documented the barriers to work associated with each of the following themes:

1. Too many youths are seeking work for the jobs available.
2. Youths lack necessary skills.
3. Youths are in competition for jobs with other demographic groups.
4. Youths lack serious commitment to work.
5. Young workers cost too much.
6. Employers discriminate against youths.
7. Youths do not know how to find jobs waiting for them.
8. Youths face legal barriers to employment.
9. Youths face a mismatch between their residence and the location of jobs.

Thwarting Conditions

Implicit in the observations of Levin and Passmore are problems in the mechanisms of exploration and induction, decision making, work experience, use of resources and job search skills previously identified in this chapter. Problems with these mechanisms vary from group to group and individual to individual. They are not evenly distributed across all youths.

Indeed, the major problems in the school to work transition are concentrated among those who are 16 to 19 years of age and school dropouts or members of minority groups. This does not mean that other youths do not have some amount of difficulty with the school to work transition, or that they do not need help with some of the mechanisms of the move from school to work. Ordinarily, they do. But the resulting problems are typically less serious, less enduring, less multidimensional than those experienced by school dropouts and inner city minority youths.

We have earlier indicated that problems with the transition to work carry with them potential implications for long term unemployment. In addition to the long term problems cited earlier, some evidence (Guerney, 1980) indicates that high unemployment among youths tends to result in low self-esteem, a reduced sense of usefulness and accomplishment, distrust, cynicism, and a rise in criminal activity. Such attitudes frequently manifest themselves in problems in job search and interviewing or in adjustment to supervision, relations with co-workers or openness to learning when a job is secured.

Implications

Chapter Two has described the character and the importance of the major mechanisms by which the school to work transition occurs. Many of these mechanisms are composed of skills which are learnable. But people are not born with these skills nor do they emerge full blown as a function of growth from childhood to young adulthood. Schools must arrange the conditions and school counselors must take the lead in stimulating the acquisition by all youths of the knowledge, attitudes and skills which comprise employability, which, in turn, lubricates the transition from school to work.

It is especially noteworthy to acknowledge that while youth unemployment and barriers to work have been given a great deal of visibility in the popular media, this coverage has not been as discriminating as it might be about who is most affected by such problems. As suggested elsewhere in this chapter, the youth population is comprised of subgroups who differ in the likelihood of being employed or unemployed. Certainly, those of greatest risk in relation to the school to work transition and employment are minority and inner city youths.

Because of the intensity of movement in and out of the work force by teenagers, it is probably fair to suggest that most youths who want to be are employed in either part time or full time work. That is not to say that they like what they are doing or that they will do it for a long time. Rather, it is to say that they have found a type of work which gives them spending money, information about work norms, worker credibility and related advantages. What this does not say is that high and sustained youth unemployment is concentrated, and persistently so, among school dropouts and minority youths. It is for these groups, particularly, that special and tailored guidance services need to be focused in behalf of employability.

Chapter 3
THE ADJUSTMENT TO WORK

The importance of counseling for employability does not end with developing employability skills. Also of concern is adjustment to work and counseling about such matters. In order to do so effectively requires consideration of how the adjustment to work ensues and some of the dilemmas or tasks inherent in it.

First Job Dilemma

When do individuals first work? Is it when one first works for pay? Is it the first full time job? Is it the first job after leaving school? Coleman (1976) states that the point when an individual first works is conceptually ambiguous.

For discussion purposes the following definition is offered: it is the job taken when a person moves from other full time investments to search for a full time job even if only a temporary part time job is secured. Such a definition sets the conceptual stage for considering the adjustment dilemmas related to full time investments in work environments which typically are not as tolerant of individual differences in behavior, knowledge, or skills as are schools and some other social institutions.

Persons making the transition to a full time investment in work encounter some anxiety concerning their ability to make successful adjustments to the workplace. They might be concerned about personal competence in handling broad-ranging job requirements or of being accepted by co-workers. Concerns can focus on the "rightness" of their occupational choice and upon worries that the job might not live up to expectations and needs.

The term "first job dilemma" is attributed to Schein (1968) who used it to describe problems of college graduates; in particular, those college graduates who go to the first job with enthusiasm and ambition only to experience serious motivational deficits during the first year on the job. For those who experience first job dilemma, the first year loss of motivation is accompanied by thoughts about quitting the job, reduction in work effort, and apathy.

It is reasonable to expect that such behaviors are likely also to affect all new full time workers, especially those who make poor preparation for the transition to work. The first job dilemma is associated with high turnover. High turnover is a condition associated with all those new to the labor market. It is also likely that the first job dilemma is most often associated with poor job search strategies which result in poor job choice. Other related factors include unrealistic expectations of and by the worker, poor personal relations with co-workers, and a mismatch of skills held and competencies required.

Dimensions of the transition to the first job were cast in a decision making model by Tiedeman (1961). He indicated that in choosing work one is engaged in "The Period of Anticipation" which includes four substages: exploration, crystallization, choice, and specification. However, at the point of actually implementing a choice which one has anticipated, one moves into "The Period of Implementation and Adjustment" which includes three substages: induction (person largely responsive), reformation (person largely assertive), and integration (person obtains satisfaction). Essentially, this model indicates that it is one thing to anticipate a first job, it is another to actually implement it. A constant process of reciprocity is involved between the person's self-concept and expectations about the job and the actual experience of the job when it is begun. If the individual can accommodate to the role expectations and norms of the job without being stretched beyond the limits of personal tolerance, the person will likely stay in the position and integrate the expectations of the work setting into one's ego identity. However, if the process of induction demands accommodations beyond one's ability or desires to adjust, the person will probably reinstitute the period of anticipation and move through its substages in identifying and exploring an alternative job to which to move.

Programs for youths which are structured, delivered, and related to transition to work, job search, worker expectations, and investments in work should be most able to reduce the quandaries associated not only with the first job but with all succeeding ones. They represent a form of psychological and skill capital which can be used time and again as new choices and work adjustments are required.

Phases in the Adjustment to Work

Using terms introduced by the New York State Education Department (1969) when investigating school to work transitions, adjustment to "work" can be considered as a process which partially occurs in settings other than that of work itself. Counselors could think of work adjustment as being pre-transitional, transitional, and post-transitional. Each of the three phases relates to a status change in the learner/worker.

The pre-transitional phase is related to educational decisions concerning occupation and career, including those related to curricula, course selection, and postsecondary education. It is in the pre-transitional stage where work arenas are decided upon using interest, aptitude, intelligence, and achievement data. It is also the stage where the individual's knowledge about the world of work has its major effect on education/work related decision making. It is in this phase where it is important for an individual to consider the meanings of work, what it means to be a worker, and how to become a worker. It seems indisputable that such important activities related to work should be considered as part and parcel of an important pre-transitional work adjustment phase. This phase largely overlaps with the first two steps of the process of anticipation, as earlier attributed to Tiedeman.

The second or transitional phase interfaces with one's eventual actual work adjustment. It is in this stage where partial or total disengagement from schooling occurs for most people. Moreover, it is the phase in which the job search, application process, and interview place the individual in contact with work sites determined to have possibility or promise. Choices between alternative jobs may have to be made. Perplexities related to divergent interests must be resolved. Compromise and trade-offs might be required. All placement related considerations and decisions precede actual induction on the job, yet all relate very markedly to subsequent work adjustment in the workplace.

The third or post-transitional stage of adjustment to work relates to one's actual adjustment to the work done and the work place entered. Eventually, it will relate to very personal reflections about the work which challenge or corroborate the decisions made in both the pre-transitional and transitional stages. The effects or implications of the decision making done earlier finally become totally clear. One

must then cope with the present situation by continuous adjusting or by beginning the process of transitioning to a job that would be more satisfying. A move toward a new job would actually reinject the worker into the pre-transitional phase of adjustment. The better these transitional and adjustive phases are negotiated, the more empowered one would be to find, choose, adjust, and eventually experience satisfaction in one's work.

Another perspective on the adjustment to work is found in the research of Ashley, Cellini, Faddis, Pearsol, Wiant, and Wright (1980) who studied in depth the adaptation to work of 68 persons, 38 males and 30 females, from 17 to 30 years of age. The results of this study suggested that the successful adjustment to work included a sequence of adjustments in five areas. They are described below.

Performance aspects. Learning what was expected and how to do the new job tasks, doing unusual job tasks (often not in the job description), or learning new ways to do old ones. Coping with idle time or sporadic work schedules on the job, physical or mental fatigue. Dealing with production quotas and standards.

Organizational aspects. Learning how to deal with both the official and unofficial rules of the job, the work procedures, employee and power hierarchies. Learning about the work organization, the company, its functions and activities, and how workers fit into the organization.

Interpersonal aspects. The need to adapt to co-workers and to obtain their assistance in achieving adequate performance. Becoming able to adjust to supervisory styles that conflict with the worker's own attitudes, values, or work styles. Dealing with requirements of teamwork, disagreeable co-workers, etc.

Responsibility aspects. Proving yourself, making use of training opportunities, getting ahead, getting raises and related tasks.

Affective aspects. Maintaining a good work attitude, a willingness to work hard regardless of how good or bad the particular job was seen to be. Having self-awareness, good feelings about one's self and one's job performance.

In a study of four national respondent groups designed to establish the priority of competencies important to occupational adaptability (Selz, Jones & Ashley, 1980), 50 percent or more of all of the samples (employees, teachers, general adults, high school seniors) believed that unless one possessed at least the following competencies one would have a great deal of difficulty in a job:

1. Using reading, writing and math skills the job calls for.
2. Using tools and equipment the job calls for.
3. Getting along with others.
4. Dealing with pressures to get the job done.
5. Following rules and policies.
6. Having a good work attitude.

Although the latter is not so much a series of phases as are the models of Ashley et al. (1980) or the perspectives promulgated by the New York State Education Department (1969), each affords the school counselor with a potential diagnostic profile of where a young worker experiencing a first job dilemma may be having difficulty. Once such information is clarified, the counselor can employ relevant techniques described in the next chapter.

Personal Adjustment to Work: Economic/Social/Psychological

For each worker, full empowerment in adjusting to work and the work site requires that various personal selves or beings be satisfied or reconciled. To illustrate, the economic self must be contented. Contentment with salary, fringe benefits, and other extrinsic rewards is most important and desirable, yet contentment is all that can be reasonably expected, as the economic self in each of us is rarely "satisfied." In terms of economic reward, a bit more is always sought. Thus, the economic self, while never sated is comfortable when it is content with the salary and benefits accruing to it for work done. On the other hand, the social being in each of us searches for satisfaction in social interactions, identifications, and human relationships which can promote self-efficacy and personal dignity. Conflict with, abusiveness from, and domination by others in the workplace reduce the worker's sense of social well being and belongingness. Then, too, opportunity and possibly one's obligation to practice certain behaviors or attend certain work related functions either enhance or delimit one's social satisfaction. Moreover, all are related to lifestyle preferences. Related factors entering the social presence equation include one's heritage, family background and circumstances; educational level; social and ethnic class; and personality. All need attention by those evaluating one's actual or potential social adjustment to work.

The individual's psychological self might truly be the tabernacle or nest in which all other personal selves abide. After all, it is a person's broad-ranging personality, or psychological presence, that must determine satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the activities, salary, benefits, peers, supervisors and the social harness associated with one's work. Moreover, it is the psychological self which copes and adjusts to stress in the workplace. It determines how one handles frustration, conflict, and pressure emanating from the work, its rewards, or co-workers.

These issues, of course, relate to one's self-concept and self-acceptance. It is this psychological self, this governing presence, which guides the multi-faceted "self" enterprises of self-awareness, self-confidence, self-determination, self-direction, self-esteem, self-identity, self-image toward self-actualization and fulfillment. It is the self-concept which serves as a filter or initiator of possibilities for action or for choice. It mediates these mechanisms as it processes information about self and the environment available to it. As knowledge about this process has become clearer, more theorists and researchers are contending that the focus of employability counseling or of career guidance should not be confined to what might be chosen, but rather of equal importance is the self-concept of the chooser and the values, preferences, needs, commitments, skills which the individual uses as the basis of choice and adjustment.

Consider the contemporary emergence of employee assistance programs in the workplaces of America. In those activities it is most often the psychological self of the worker that needs assistance, clarification, succorance, or reinforcement to cope with the problems that lie in familial, spiritual, occupational and social identities. These are the mediators of whether the worker will be reliable, dependable and teachable in relation to the work skill requirements of the particular job.

Trial and Floundering

As noted in the earlier sections of this chapter, youths, like other groups of workers, are involved in multiple transitions in the labor force until such time as they find stable employment to their liking or they stop looking. Until such a period

of stability or equilibrium is achieved, the time becomes for some youths a time of floundering and for others a time of trial.

Super (1957) addressed the floundering or trial process and noted that some youths have a succession of many short-lived jobs that have no rational sequence or progression associated with them. None draws on the experience of the former or leads to the next. For others this period of frequent job change is related to trial and exploration in which one tries out various occupational fields. Their experience is more logical and developmental. For some in this stage of career the "floundering" is random and purposeless in terms of career staging. For others, it is systematic and purposeful. Regardless of their effects on career decision making, trial and floundering are both important and they are served by the values associated with one's work affiliations. For the employed "flounderer," one likely to be fully invested in the moratorium stage, the stage of weak labor force attachment and movement into and out of jobs as well as the labor force itself, the person is experiencing work, earning, and maturing. Some unstructured suggestions for further action come from one's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the multiple types of work experienced. For the "investigator," the one putting various occupations and work settings to the test, work experience, income, and maturation accrue which are augmented with information related to rational decision making. The need for systematic exploration is served, and career decision making is improved.

Trial and floundering are related to problems of moving to and finding one's place in the world of work, adjusting to work requirements, and adjusting to the way of life associated with work (Super, 1957). As suggested before, workers trying to find their place in the world of work face the following problems:

- Job selection and placement
- Self-understanding
- Lack of occupational information
- Lack of opportunities or resources
- Social expectations
- Social adjustment
- Adjustment to authority
- Adjustment to co-workers
- Family and home demands
- Community adjustments

These problems, all associated with work selection, adjustment to fellow employees and family issues, are those which can be addressed in pre-transitional individual and group guidance and counseling sessions. These very issues comprise the grist of career education programs related to preparation for and entry into work. They relate to one's employability and one's prospects for employment.

Problems concerning adjustment to work requirements include the following:

Technical competence	Work attitudes and values
The routine and tempo of work	Security
The work load	Time on the job before advancement

These problems are associated with one's personal expectations of oneself as a worker and their relationship to the occupational demands of the job. They are, in turn, related to the accuracy of the information one has, previous experiences, one's self-concept, peer influences and related matters.

In transitional career education and counseling experiences, young people can be made aware of problems and be prepared to cope with work adjustment demands. Such was the case in Project PIT, a summer industrial work experience and occupational guidance program (Wayne State University, 1967). The project exposed inner city youths to industrial work in a simulated work setting. Youths actually manufactured materials for non-profit organizations in the community. They also received work experience and occupational guidance to prepare them for eventual entry into the labor force. Lastly, floundering and trial are related to problems integral to the worker's way of life. These include: one's role and status in the community, one's pace of life and life schedule related to the job, and community adjustments.

These problems are post-transitional problems which can be ameliorated by the young worker's change of attitudes and expectations regarding non-work activities. This is often accomplished through maturation and the adjustment of personal desires. Moreover, promotion, change in one's responsibility, transfer, and other status modifications can affect the young worker's ability and motivation to cope with life issues related to one's work. Of overarching importance to such adjustments may be the constructive use of leisure.

Individuals search for meanings in their psychological adjustments to the world of work, in their physical adjustments to the work done, as well as in their status adjustments in families, peer groups, and the community at large. The basic psychological needs for belonging, acceptance, recognition, and security seek satisfaction in all. Counselors must help clients understand that work which is capriciously chosen has only the chance of fate or luck to satisfy those needs. Work

which is wisely considered, chosen, and pursued offers better odds for delivering satisfaction and need fulfillment. Developmental and adjustive passage through the trial or floundering stage of work entry can be assisted by counselors and other youth advocates who are willing to do so.

Peer Group Support at Work

Youths making status changes from school to work or from unemployment to employment generally do so alone. Tiedeman and O'Hara (1963) stated that "the world of work is a new world of meanings. Generally, family does not enter here, nor do peers" (p. 49).

In youths' engagement with the world of work, peer and family group members are generally not present in numbers sufficient to elicit or reinforce standards different from those expected in the workplace. The major press on young workers comes from older workers already on the job. In meeting those presses the youth stands alone.

In most instances, youths going to work enter a world where non-family adults predominate, and they learn the work values and work norms of adults mainly from these adults and not from youthful co-workers. Either they learn and incorporate adult standards regarding work and work site behavior, or they fail in their occupational adjustment regardless of occupational skill levels. The evidence is clear: People fail at work not because they lack occupational skills, but because they lack interpersonal and adjustment skills.

When youths go to work, new affiliations are formed. School, neighborhood and family allegiances are weakened as work demands and associations take increasing precedence and rival those of family and peers. The demand for attention to occupational investment is reinforced by the need or desire for increased salary and promotion--the status rewards of workers. Interactions with family, school friends, and other non-work peers cannot satisfy the new and important income and promotion desires, thus the influence of non-work associates weakens. Because of their lack of influence in the workplace and because of the new worker's growing investment in the world of work, family and non-work peer bonds are weakened. Other bonds are being forged, however, as work associates attempt to introduce and initiate the newcomer to the workplace. If the new worker passes the test and is

accepted by co-workers, he/she is infused into a new peer group which centers in the workplace and contributes to his/her vocationalization. Relationships with family members and recreational associates outside of work are maintained, but their influence, assistance, and power in terms of the new worker's occupational future are minimal at best.

Need for Employability Skills

Whatever else operates in the transition to work by youths, the need for employability skills is paramount for those trying to enter the labor market. They are important for young people particularly because, as new workers, having no work experience, they must compete for positions in the labor force. Employability skills are the skills of the workplace. As described in Chapter I, they include affective work competencies, occupation and firm specific skills, industrial discipline, and career management skills. When such skills are combined with the opportunity to work, individuals are better able to establish and maintain themselves in the workplace.

Various pools of educational, economic and labor literature are replete with attestations regarding the need for employability skills. For example, Richards (1980) found that employers find personal-social competencies as being more valuable to workers than prior work experience. Other writers have addressed employability in terms of basic skill competence, productive work habits, technical skills, work values, occupational competence, work behaviors, survival skills, and adaptability skills, among others.

The employability skill arena is extensive and important to all employees and employers, yet research data concerning employability skill need are limited. Conjecture, opinion, and experiential data are important, but the need exists for robust research inquiries into the multi-faceted employability skills area.

It is agreed, though, that employability training would help new workers adjust to work more readily. Young workers in particular would be helped. Freeman and Wise (1979) reported that about one-fourth of young workers 18 to 24 years of age change jobs in a year, whereas less than one-tenth of adult men aged 35 to 54 do so. Undoubtedly, some of those younger workers move from job to job because of employability deficiencies. Fortunately, however, employability skill needs are now

being served in most career education programs. Before the advent of the career education movement, employability skill issues were likely to be addressed only in vocational programs, if at all. Career education programs are making employability training available to greater numbers of youths. Also, by being part of the school curriculum related to career development for all, career education is likely to be instrumental in effecting long term structural and developmental employability capabilities of youths. On the other hand, short term employability and survival skill training, while being informative, cannot be expected to offset employability skill deficiencies stemming from impoverished school curricula.

Some counselors were on record early in recommending courses at the secondary level which would address vocational guidance and pre-vocational employability skills. The United States Office of Education (Eggeman, Campbell, & Garbin, 1969) sponsored a survey of 763 youth opportunity counselors across the nation to determine the major problems faced by youths as they make school to work transitions. Youths were found to have a bewildering variety of problems which affect their ability to adjust to job and work.

Responses to the survey were grouped in nine major and 50 subcategories. The major categories included:

- Job preparation
- Personality variables
- Vocational behaviors
- School programs
- Discriminatory practices
- Family background
- Community factors
- Factors inherent in the job
- Military obligations

The study was done in 1969. While the military obligation issue is now eliminated, problems in the other categories remain. Many relate to employability issues facing today's young people.

Counselors are cautioned by Sartin (1977) that factors other than personal employability deficiencies can inhibit employment success. Erratic attendance patterns and poor investment in one's work, for example, can be due to such factors as economic or family distress, or being responsible for a dependent parent or child. Sartin observed that when such a condition exists, relief is essential to permit youths to focus on employment.

Transitions to work are never very easy. When transition problems are related to employability skill deficiencies, however, they can be remedied in work related or in adult education settings. While such programs can serve out of school youths, short term treatments are not ideal. Secondary schools must prepare in-school youngsters for work and careers by fully addressing employability skills in the curriculum. Where such skills are lacking, counselors can institute systematic methods of obtaining the knowledge or competencies which underlie such skills. To be willing to do so, however, requires that the counselor accept the notion that employability skills are learned. One is not born knowing how to search for a job or how to engage in interest assessment or values clarification. These behaviors are not "fixed effects" growing from some genetic mix. They are, instead, learned and modifiable behaviors which represent the rationale for employability counseling and the content to which different types of counseling intervention are directed.

Implications

In this chapter, we have examined a number of elements which contribute to the adjustment to work. It has been noted in particular that some persons never really adjust to work, never acquire a recognizable career pattern, and simply flounder from one job to another without purpose or system. In contrast, other persons go through a period of trial which is characterized by exploration and reality testing. At first glance, such a process may look like floundering, although the mechanisms employed by the individual are more likely to be devoted to sorting out work alternatives, screening work settings, testing adult work norms as one moves through increasing crystallization and specificity about the kind of work to which one wants to make a long term commitment. A period of trial encounters with work is not unusual; to fixate in a floundering process can be a very serious matter.

As the characteristics of the first job dilemma, phases in adustment to work and personal adjustments to work are considered, the need for employability skills becomes obvious. What also becomes apparent are the insights and themes which such research provides as the content for employability counseling. Employability and the adjustment to work are comprised of many behaviors which people learn or

do not learn. These behaviors are not genetically determined, but rather emanate from the person's prior experiences in the family, community and at school. They are not, then, immutable fixed effects, but rather modifiable through systematic career guidance or career education programs and other counseling interventions.

Chapter 4
COUNSELING FOR EMPLOYABILITY

In implicit acknowledgment that counselors have roles to play both in the anticipation, choosing and planning for work, and in the implementation and adjustment to work, there are a number of different statements directed to the specification of counselor competencies required in career guidance or in employability counseling. Some of these statements emanate from individual observers; others emerge from professional associations. In either case, they carry implications for how counselors should be trained in their preservice program of education or what kinds of renewal experiences they are likely to need as a result of inservice, continuing education programs. Finally, the statements available tend to define what types of techniques counselors are likely to employ as they engage in employability counseling.

Counselor Role and Competencies in Employability

Career guidance and counseling for employability have taken on new prominence in the past decade. The stimuli for such emerging emphases include new insights into the characteristics of career development, rising concerns about youth unemployment, and the emergence of career education as a major educational focus. Each of these factors tends to suggest additional ways to view counselor roles in relation to facilitating the career development of youths or their employability. As a result, counselor role statements have evolved through the years.

One of the first major and influential statements describing the role of counselors and other guidance specialists in career guidance occurred in 1973. A joint position paper of the American Vocational Association and the National Vocational Guidance Association recommended that counselors and guidance specialists be responsible for the following:

Program Leadership and Coordination

1. Coordinate the career guidance program.
2. Provide staff with the understanding necessary to assist each student to obtain a full competency-based learning experience.
3. Coordinate the acquisition and use of appropriate occupational, educational, and labor market information.
4. Help staff understand the process of human growth and development and assess needs of individuals.
5. Help staff plan for sequential student learning experiences in career development.
6. Coordinate the development and use of a comprehensive cumulative pupil data system that can be readily used by all students.
7. Identify and coordinate the use of school and community resources needed to facilitate career guidance.
8. Coordinate the evaluation of student learning experiences and use the resulting data in counseling with students, in consulting with the instructional staff and parents, and in modifying the curriculum.
9. Coordinate a job placement program for the school and provide for job adjustment counseling.
10. Provide individual and group counseling and guidance so that students will be stimulated to continually and systematically interrelate and expand their experiences, knowledge, understanding, skills, and appreciations as they grow and develop throughout life. (National Vocational Guidance Association/American Vocational Association, 1973, pp. 13-14)

Following the passage of the Education Amendments of 1974 which made career education a national educational priority, the American Personnel and Guidance Association (1975) adopted a statement delineating a series of roles and functions which counseling and other personnel practitioners needed to perform in career education. These included recommendations that counselors provide leadership in the following tasks:

1. Identifying individual career development tasks and implementing programs to accomplish them.
2. Identifying and classifying educational and occupational information.

3. Assimilating and applying career decision making methods and materials.

4. Eliminating the restrictions that racism and sexism place on opportunity.

5. Expanding the variety and appropriateness of assessment devices and procedures necessary for sound personal, educational, and occupational decision making.

6. Emphasizing the importance of career counseling and of achieving its goals. (pp. 3-4)

These six functions are considered to be inseparable leadership duties for counselors in career education. The APGA statement also considers it essential for counselors to actively participate in the career education process in seven additional ways:

1. By serving as liaison between educational and community resource groups.

2. By conducting assessment surveys of career guidance needs among students.

3. By organizing and operating part time and full time educational, occupational, and placement programs.

4. By conducting job adjustment activities.

5. By contributing to revisions of the curriculum.

6. By helping involve the family in career education.

7. By participating in efforts to monitor and assess activities and communicating the results of those activities to other practitioners and clientele. (p. 5)

A year later, the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision (1976) defined a series of competencies which counselors need, regardless of setting, to participate effectively in career guidance. It was assumed that counselor education programs would orient the content and experiences of their programs to facilitate the acquisition of these competencies by counselors in training. These include:

1. Career and human development theory and research and the skills necessary to translate this knowledge into developmental career guidance and career education programs.

2. Career information resources and the necessary skills to assist teachers, administrators, community agency personnel, paraprofessionals, and peers to integrate this type of information into the teaching-counseling process.

3. Career assessment strategies and the skills necessary to assist individuals to use these data in the decision making process.

4. Individual and group counseling practices and the skills necessary to assist individuals in career planning using both approaches.

5. Career decision making processes and the skills necessary to implement programs designed to facilitate career decision making for clientele in educational and community agency settings.

6. Job placement services and the skills necessary to assist their clientele to seek, acquire, and maintain employment.

7. Knowledge of the unique career development needs of special clientele groups (women, minorities, handicapped, disadvantaged, adults, etc.), and the skills necessary to assist them in their development.

8. Awareness of sexism and racism and the necessary skills to reduce institutional discrimination in order to broaden the career opportunities available for all persons.

9. Awareness of the roles that lifestyle and leisure play in career development and the skills necessary to assist clientele to select and prepare for occupations which coincide with various preferences.

10. Consultation strategies and the skills necessary to assist others (teachers, parents, peers, etc.) to deliver indirect career guidance services.

11. Synthesizing strategies and the skills necessary to assist individuals to understand the interrelatedness of their career decisions and life roles.

12. Program development and curricular infusion strategies and the skills necessary to design and implement career awareness, self-development, career exploration, and job placement programs within educational and community agency settings.

13. Organizational development and change processes and the skills necessary to facilitate change in educators' attitudes toward career education.

14. Program evaluation techniques and the skills necessary to acquire evidence of the effectiveness of career guidance and career education programming.

15. Educational trends and state and federal legislation which may influence the development and implementation of career guidance programs. (pp. 10-11)

In the interim from 1976 to the present, there were several other prominent competency statements. One of the most prominent was that developed as a result of a national study of the role of the school counselor in career education (Burtnett, 1980). A matrix resulted from this study which identified school counselor competencies in relation to career guidance program components: planning/design, implementation, evaluation. It then suggested that in each of these components, there were counselor competencies required in four areas: leadership, management, direct service and indirect service.

The most recent, comprehensive statement of counselor competencies is that adopted by the National Vocational Guidance Association in 1981. The statement, entitled Competencies for Career Counseling, identified needed counselor knowledge and skills in the following areas:

General counseling	Management/administration
Information	Implementation
Individual/group assessment	Consultation

Collectively, these statements of counselor role in career guidance, career education, and career counseling map out the conceptual terrain which overlaps with counseling for employability. The statements indicate that counselors are expected to be knowledgeable about and able to integrate career development theory, guidance techniques and occupational information. Beyond these broad emphases, however, counselors need awareness of the very themes about which this monograph is concerned: unemployment, underemployment, employability, information about technological innovations and their likely effects on the workplace, "high" technology, the computerization of work processes, and the nature of the so-called "sunrise industries." All of these phenomena will have their effect on the economy, social change, and the lifestyles of American workers. Their effects and their possibilities will become the content of employability counseling.

Preservice Programs

To train counselors who are on the cutting edge of professional awareness requires that preservice counselor education programs be dynamic in the content and supervised practicum experiences they offer counselor trainees. Competing forces

bargain for attention in all educational programs, counselor education included. Professional issues, developments and innovations, strategies, and research compete for the counselor's attention. Information available in disciplines related to counseling which might be considered important for counselors to know could swamp even the most ambitious ad comprehensive training programs. Counselor educators must know of relevant developments in allied disciplines and their application to the needs of the diverse settings where graduates of counselor education programs are employed. With such knowledge they must make wise and disciplined counselor education curricular decisions and modifications.

Counselors, for some time, have been taught guidance skills, occupational information, testing, placement and follow-up techniques, and even computer skills. Many, however, have not been exposed to youth and work issues, job search techniques, work transition problems, relationships between work and social, familial, and psychological structures, among others.

Consequently, counselors are described as being poorly prepared by both training and experience to offer effective career guidance or counseling for employability. The reasons for that indictment through the years have included inadequate or misdirected counselor preparation curricula, the poor mix between academic, therapeutic, and occupational issues, and the demands of college bound youths and their parents.

In discussing needed action related to contemporary career guidance, Ginzberg (1972) stated that the profession should:

1. Abandon the psychotherapeutic focus and concentrate on educational and career guidance.

2. Link counseling with other client support systems, i.e., remedial programs, job training, job finding.

3. Reform counselor education. This includes the need to emphasize the world of work and pathways into it and the mobilization and use of all available community resources in helping clients.

4. Change the regulation that only teachers can become certified school counselors, thereby widening the funnel through which recruits to counseling must pass.

5. Expand guidance services to both young and mature adults. (p. 6)

The Ginzberg suggestions would help reemphasize, possibly reintroduce, the work and career focus in those counselor education and counseling delivery systems where it is now lacking.

In writing about counselor education changes needed in relation to non-college bound clientele, Cochran (1974) stated that counselor education programs are the key to developing a new career awareness throughout the counseling profession. He urged as follows:

1. Make work outside of education an integral part of all counselor education programs.
2. Incorporate career development and career education in counselor preparation programs.
3. Upgrade inservice counselors in vocational knowledge and career guidance skills.
4. Integrate occupational information courses into all counselor education programs.
5. Encourage prospective counselors to take courses outside of education that will expand their career perceptions. (p. 584)

The professionalization of counselor programs through emphasizing psychological theory and therapy is described by some as poorly preparing counselors to meet the needs of most counseling clients today. They do not need therapy; they want and need career assistance. Therapeutic programs are thought to neglect deep investments in the universally important and foundational concepts related to work, vocational education, occupational choice, career development and career education.

Inservice Programs

While preservice counselor education programs are relatively brief and intensive exposures to providing students with the foundation knowledge necessary to becoming a professional counselor, inservice programs typically occur over extended time spans and are likely to be more directly tailored to the requirements of the counselor's day to day work. Attesting to the issue at hand, that is, the demand for more counselor investment in career guidance activity, are informal observations that school counselors' inservice workshops most often deal with the broad range of

work, training, and career issues. Other related professional issues addressed are testing and occupational information systems. A third level of interest would include computers, ethical issues, drug abuse, and college admissions. A study of considerable depth into the desires of Iowa elementary and secondary school counselors for inservice training suggested that such needs were comparable to those of counselors in other states. By order of preference the following topics were identified by counselors: group process skills, counseling, vocational and career development, consultation skills, drug and alcohol abuse, clinical information, assessment, policy and program information, program management (Engen, 1977).

Counselor inservice education permits program needs to be addressed. When counselors identify their needs they tend to find a practical utility emanating from inservice investments. The issues addressed typically have pertinence to day to day work.

As inservice sessions are typically informal, non-credit, less intense, distributed over time, and pertinent to daily needs, they have a great potential for influencing counselor behavior and capability in serving students and young adults. With high potential for satisfying counselor information and skill needs, school and counselor administrators, parent groups, and others might urge that counselor and teacher inservice programs reflect periodic attention to work and career assistance issues.

Inservice counselor education programs have the potential to condition the novice, credentialed counselor to the job regardless of setting. In fact, to maintain the theme of this monograph, they accommodate the counselor's post-transitional adjustment to his or her world of work. This should improve the counselor's effectiveness and satisfaction.

Counselor Techniques

When all is said and done about expected counselor competencies and models of counselor education or inservice training in employability counseling or career guidance, there remains the matter of techniques. What can the counselor do to help the student or young adult deal with the content which underlies individual needs for

employability counseling? There are traditional and emerging techniques which counselors employ for these purposes. Whatever technique is used, however, the ability of the counselor to listen to and clarify counselees' concerns and dilemmas is a fundamental element of the counseling process.

Listening and Clarifying

In counseling youths and adults the best counseling skills must be brought to bear on the problem. When dealing with the occupational affairs of individuals, knowledge of the values, circumstances and ambitions of the individual is crucial. The counselor must strive to learn about and understand these and other facts about the person so that maximum assistance can be rendered.

The wise counselor working with youths helps the counselee explore occupational ambitions, previous work experiences, feelings, values, perceived opportunties and concerns. Within this context of understanding, the counselor can help with the individual's career issues regardless of the dilemma, distress or disillusionment involved. In doing so, the counselor listens non-selectively; that is, all cues emitted by the client are attended to and the counselor is sensitive to what is and not just to what should be (Egan, 1970, p. 249).

To engage a client as totally as Egan suggests, the counselor must piece together the information provided by the client through expressions of both content and feeling, and help the client integrate them into a plan of action. The counselor will restate and reflect feelings and paraphrase what is discussed to assure that accurate understanding is achieved.

The counselor and client often differ in age, education, sex, race, perspective, social milieu and even in commitment to tasks at hand. Counselors and young clients often function on different wave lengths, so to speak. Efforts must be made to reduce the static in the communications between them. Clear and non-defensive communication is desired and must be achieved if counseling is to be useful. To do so, the counselor must respond with empathy not only to the exemplars of circumstance and aspiration but also to affective valuings. The counselor should help the client develop openness in expressions of behavior or problems. The counselor needs to help the individual achieve self-understanding so that eventually the counselor and other school and family advocates can understand the client's

situation. The person who fails to perceive feeling and value as well as the content of what is discussed in client statements often misses the message. Listening involves not only hearing, but interpreting and evaluating the information heard and then responding. The total message in each statement becomes the grist for subsequent discussion and action. Subtle nuances of value, feeling, emotion and meaning in counselees' statements are exceedingly important to how the counselor shapes his or her behavior. Appraisal, clarification, verification and summarization are often needed to improve the quality of communications.

There are four basic types of verbal communication. The first is phatic communication which involves getting to know someone and building interpersonal relationships. The second is cathartic communication which allows release of emotion and tension to caring ears. Third is informative communication in which data, information and ideas are shared. Last is persuasive communication where attitudes are challenged or reinforced and actions are planned (Speery, no date). These types of verbal communication are used by counselors to establish rapport, to listen and respond, to share information and to assist in client planning.

Egan (1975b), in writing about the skilled helper, noted the elements of attending and listening and discussed the need for the counselor to attend to non-verbal behaviors and to listen to him/herself. In a companion workbook, Egan (1975a) provided exercises to help counselors develop better competence in attending, empathy, self-confrontation, active and passive discrimination of feeling, and other skills.

When clients are encountered who are so lacking in interpersonal skills that their occupational success might be affected, counselors might refer them to Johnson's (1978) Human Relations and Your Career--A Guide to Interpersonal Skills. This self-help book provides exercises related to cooperating, leading, communicating--and many other job survival skills.

A similar resource for counselors is found in Ivey's (1983) book on interviewing and counseling which provides practice and self-assessment exercises for microskills associated with all elements of the interview. Included, among others, are exercises aimed at developing skills in paraphrasing, encouraging, reflection of feeling and eliciting, all of which have utility in vocational and career planning counseling sessions.

Kemp (1970) wrote about the counselor's use of elucidative skills in working with groups and listed those skills as including: listening, clarifying, reflecting, interpreting, linking—relating one's comments to others—and summarizing. Such skills are equally valuable when counseling individuals who are attempting to come to grips with such diverse and momentous issues as occupational choice, career plans, transition to work or work adjustment. When the counselee's interests, backgrounds, values, and ambitions are amorphous or unknown, and when the client's clarity of statement and openness are questionable, use of such skills takes on paramount importance. The counselor who will engage the client in discussion, attend to what the client says, help the person elaborate and clarify meanings, and assist in the weighing of actions and possibilities is most likely to help the client reach a successful conclusion to the counseling relationship. Such an approach is in basic opposition to pre-judging, categorizing, misunderstanding, and possibly misdirecting the individual due to sexual or racial bias or dispensing irrelevant or inaccurate information.

In sum, listening and clarifying techniques create an environment in which other counselor techniques can be used to facilitate the counselee's understanding of self or environmental characteristics and how such information may be used in decision making. One such technique which may be employed by the counselor is testing and assessment.

Testing and Assessment

Through assessment and testing procedures individuals learn about themselves, their capabilties and their limits. The more an individual knows about personal characteristics and desires, the more that information can be used in life's decisions and adjustments. The only way "free choice" is valid is if it is "informed free choice."

Individuals differ in their abilities, skills, aptitudes, interests and values. Occupations and, indeed, school curricula or college majors differ in their requirements related to the same traits. These individual and occupational variables combine to determine the individual's access to jobs, work adjustment, performance, satisfaction and satisfactoriness on the job.

Counselors, over the history of the guidance movement, have used assessment techniques to assist clients of all ages in making decisions about appropriate work settings. Such assessment is important in employability counseling. Although the historically presumed accuracy and precision of matching people to jobs as a result of testing has been rejected, the need for measurement of human traits and capabilities remains important.

The traditional measurement activities in guidance have embraced assessment of client interests, achievement, intelligence, aptitude and personality. Most recently these assessment areas have been augmented with the addition of measures of values and career maturity. Value inventories measure either work values, such as security and prestige, or values related to other life issues, such as independence, achievement, politics. Career maturity scales measure the individual's ability to choose, independence from others, possession of information, planfulness, commitment to making choices and living with the consequences. Scales designed to measure career development or career maturity tend to assess how a person is developing in terms of the process of choice: the readiness and capability to choose. More traditional aptitude and interest measures tend to assess the person in relation to the content of choice: Can they perform the work available? Are they more interested in one type of available job than another? Information provided by these different assessment areas has added significantly to the types of information available from other sources, e.g., books, films, interviews.

Zunker (1981) describes the value of various types of assessment tools in meeting career counseling needs in the following manner:

1. Standardized tests and assessment inventories have been closely associated with career counseling. Skills, aptitudes, interests, values, achievements, personality characteristics, and vocational maturity are among assessment objectives of career counseling.

2. The use of standardized assessment procedures in career counseling provides the counselee with increased options and alternatives, subsequently encouraging greater individual involvement in the career decision process. In career counseling programs, assessment scores are information to be used with other materials to stimulate and enhance career exploration.

3. Aptitude tests primarily measure specific skills, proficiencies, or the ability to acquire a certain proficiency. Measured aptitudes provide a good frame of reference for evaluating potential careers.

4. Achievement tests primarily assess present levels of developed abilities. The basic academic skills such as arithmetic, reading, and language usage are relevant information to be included in planning for educational and/or training programs.

5. Interest inventories are relevant counseling tools because individuals having interest patterns similar to those of people in certain occupations will more than likely find satisfaction in that occupation. Interest inventories can effectively stimulate career exploration.

6. Personality development is a major factor in career development since the individuality of each counselee must be considered. Personality patterns are integral in identifying and clarifying the needs of each individual.

7. Assessment and clarification of beliefs and values are important components of career counseling. Two types of values inventories are (1) inventories which primarily measure work values and (2) inventories which measure dimensions of values associated wth broader aspects of lifestyles.

8. Career maturity inventories measure the dimensions from which one is judged to be vocationally mature. Super identifies dimensions of career maturity as orientation toward work, planning, consistency of vocational preferences, and wisdom of vocational preferences. Career maturity inventories have two basic purposes: (1) to measure an individual's career development, and (2) to evaluate the effectiveness of career education programs. (p. 131-32)

A limitation associated with measures in most of the above areas is that most tests and inventories are of the pencil and paper type. Many students and adults do not respond well to such measures. Some lack reading skills and other abilities necessary to adequately respond to the questions. Others lack enthusiasm for paper and pencil "school type" exercises or suffer from physical, emotional, or other handicaps which interfere with their performance. These problems, however, are being increasingly addressed by recent innovations in measurement technology, primarily through the use of work samples or assessment centers. Pruitt (1970) stated that work samples are of three types: the simulated work sample, a mock-up or simulation of an actual work activity; the actual work sample, a small part of an actual job such as soldering a part to a large component; and the isolated work sample which measures a specific trait performance such as sorting, categorizing, or tallying which is common to different jobs.

Skill evaluation centers using work sample techniques are springing up in secondary vocational-technical schools, rehabilitation centers, and employment assessment agencies. Skill evaluations can also be done on the job. Regardless of where the skill assessment is done, the skills are measured in context; that is, one's aptitudes, attitudes, interests, and task manipulations are assessed in relation to actually completing specific work tasks rather than in some abstract, intellectual exercise. In doing so, all motor and sensory competencies--spatial, temporal, auditory, visual, tactile and manipulative--can be measured in a combined and realistic fashion. Moreover, skill assessment measures accommodate a variety of special human conditions and needs, including those of the brain damaged, the non-native English speaking, the left-handed, and the disabled.

There are many work sample skills assessment systems available. Readers desiring more information about those on the market are referred to the comparative study of selected systems by the Materials Development Center (1976, 1977) at Stout Vocational Rehabilitation Institute and to a Counselor's Guide to Vocational Guidance Instruments, published by the National Vocational Guidance Association (Kapes & Mastie, 1982). Work sample assessment is a valuable addition to the range of tools available for use in vocational evaluation and work adjustment by counselors.

Examples of Counselors Using Career Assessment

Case One. A counselee approaches the counselor expressing an interest in studying computer repair at a local proprietary school. The counselee has good academic achievement and average intelligence. She wants to know if she could be successful at electro-mechanical maintenance and repair work.

The counselor might refer the client to a skill evaluation center where skill evaluations could be done using instruments such as the Singer Vocational Evaluation System or the Jewish Employment and Vocational Service System (JEVS). Such evaluation would use work samples to measure aptitude and interest in areas including, among others, electronics assembly, bench assembly, basic tool use and manipulation. The result of such assessment would be the basis for counseling and decision making on the part of the client.

Case Two. A 43-year-old displaced homemaker returns to a women's outreach center to learn how to reenter the labor force after an absence of 17 years spent

raising her children. She is a capable handy-woman. She handles most household repairs and likes those activities. She thinks, however, that she would like to enter an associate degree program in marketing in a local community college. She is not sure she can meet the entrance requirements. The counselor might review her high school record with her and arrange for interest assessment. Individual assessment of academic aptitude and achievement level should also be considered. Depending upon the assessment outcome and the clarity and focus of client interest, she might be urged to arrange for computer remediation of math and verbal deficiencies. She might also be encouraged to use computer or print resources to prepare for admission tests to the associate degree program of study.

Case Three. An inner city minority youth has some experience at part time work. He would like a white collar job. He is interested in business as a career field and thinks he might like accounting. His academic achievement is good. He is of slightly above average intelligence. He knows no accountants, nor even any managers or entrepreneurs. He has no role models from the business community in his neighborhood. The counselor might arrange interest and aptitude assessment for the client. He might also arrange for the client to visit business establishments and observe accountants and others at work, or participate in some work sampling activities which include typical problems dealt with by accountants. The client could also be urged to contact schools in the area for information about accountancy training. Assessment information, perception of the "shadowing" experience, and curricular information about accountancy study could be used as a basis for counseling and client decision making.

Facilitation Techniques

Students engaging in career planning and work considerations should be helped to assess their future life roles as consumers, workers, and users of leisure time. Wise planning towards such ends involves choosing and eventually succeeding in secondary and postsecondary academic or vocational studies, entering the labor market through part or full time employment, and orienting and directing one's personal inclinations towards marriage, military service, and recreational and leisure time pursuits. To better help youths address such career and employability issues, counselors can use various strategies and techniques. These include clarification of vocational needs and values, decision making, and job search assistance.

Vocational Needs and Values Clarification Techniques

Studies have been done on the development and persistence of youth work values from elementary through senior high school (Hales & Fenner, 1972; Kapes & Strickler, 1975). Distillation of that literature has led Herr and Cramer (in press) to conclude that rather than shifting and replacing work values over time, youths are more likely to merely change the intensity of their values and motivation. That is, strong values grow stronger and weak values weaken. This might be expected as youths crystallize their interests and develop skills in specifying preferences and choices.

One clarification strategy for use with students might be to help them to view their career planning, within a framework of need and value considerations, in terms of immediate, intermediate, and long term perspectives. Such attention to career perspectives would enable the client to produce better definitions of the self-investments needed to achieve career goals. The counselor can be instrumental in assisting the counselee in searches for self-direction that can be implemented by short and long range accomplishments. The counselor's assistance in exploration, decision making, and work and educational placements might also be required.

Then, too, value and need clarification activities might be instituted for clients by engaging them in the study of more specific personal values, work values, and need structures. Instruments such as the following might be used as appropriate:

Work Environment Preference Scale	Work Values Inventory
Survey of Personal Values	Career Development Inventory
Career Maturity Inventory	Affective Work Competencies Inventory

When the dynamics of personal value and occupational need are identified or better specified, the counselee can be assisted in studying relationships between his/her school achievements, aspirations and career goals in terms of the reality of these needs and values. Youths can also be assisted in evaluating (1) their personal competence levels in school subject areas which are related to the occupations and plans being considered; (2) the need for further training; and (3) their short and long range plans for implementing the choices made.

In value and need clarification activities, young people address many areas of concern which can be served by counselors and other advocates. These include: information needs, sense of personal worth, behavior dilemmas, locus of control, reassurance, reality testing experiences, attitude clarification and emotional release in confidential relationships.

Some school programs have been developed which address various combinations of these and other imperative issues. One example of an activity which helps youths look at their values and needs is described by D. A. Brown (1980) who developed a life planning workshop for high school students in small group settings of one hour each. Seven meetings are used to address the following topics related to life and career:

1. Why people behave as they do.
2. Winners and losers.
3. Your fantasy life.
4. Your real life.
5. Setting life goals.
6. Short term life planning.
7. Long term life planning.

The sessions help young people to explore the effects of one's personal responsibility, decision making, fantasy and reality, and goal setting on the achievement of career plans.

In another career development program, Mackin and Hansen (1981) evaluated a curriculum designed to (1) increase self-awareness, (2) increase career awareness, and (3) increase decision making and planning skills. Value and need issues were addressed in the self-awareness component. Other issues of concern in the component were self-concept, interest, and abilities. Student activities which related to the component included completion of a self-esteem measure, an adjective check list, an occupational family tree, The Strong Campbell Interest Inventory, Holland's Self-Directed Search, standard achievement and aptitude measures, selected readings, values auctions, and a paper dealing with self and society.

Since one's personal values and needs are felt to be career development content issues and determinants of career choice (Katz, 1973), they deserve counselor

attention on behalf of clients. Healy (1982) stated that the argument for career value clarification depends essentially on logic. He felt that one's purpose is likely to be more enhancing and realizable if one has examined its consequences. Healy also stated, "both values and needs...are explanatory constructs whose properties are delineated by the explainer and affirmed by study of the measures that bring the constructs into operation" (p. 88). This, too, attests to the need for counselors to assist clients with value and need clarification.

Lastly, we include some classroom activities which can promote value and need clarification for youths:

1. Ask each student to write a brief description of the relationship of the course to some educational and/or occupational goal of the student. Students could also formulate a list of individual goals pertaining to the course, that is, skills, knowledge, or attitudes they hope to develop.
2. Have students list the relative advantages and disadvantages of each of the career alternatives they are considering in terms of their relationship to expressed lifestyle goals.
3. Have students list at least six factors which they are seeking in a career (such as opportunity to travel, r[illegible] new people, responsibility, opportunity for advancement, and so on). Discuss in group sessions.
4. Develop life planning workshops in which life roles and the coping skills required in them are analyzed and shared.
5. Have each student list at least six courses or school experiences in which he/she has been successful and relate these successes to the attainment of marketable skills currently possessed.
6. Have students differentiate between the major occupations that make up the occupational cluster of their choice in terms of (1) the amount and type of education needed for entrance and advancement; (2) the content, tools, settings, products, or services of these occupations; (3) their value to society; (4) their probability of providing the type of lifestyle desired; and (5) their relationship to personal interests, abilities, and values. Discuss in group sessions.
7. Using appropriate resources, have each student develop a list of entry level skills needed for an occupational area of his or her choosing.

8. Given ninth grade educational plans, have senior high school students modify the plan to correspond with changing concepts of the self. Presented with a series of case studies illustrating examples of people making career decisions, some of which were based on careful planning and some of which were based on little or no planning, have the students identify those examples which represent poor planning, and indicate what steps could have been taken that were not.
9. Have students read books which depict work as a means of self-expression and discuss what this means for choice (Herr & Cramer, in press).

Decision Making Techniques

Counselor assistance with decision making is aimed primarily at helping the client to learn decision making skills and processes, to set goals and to make plans directed toward meeting those goals. Young clients do need to be trained in the process of making decisions. They also need assistance in identifying and acquiring information which is related to the content of the decisions being considered.

Counselors involved in this type of assistance have immeasurable potential for satisfying client information needs through the use of personal knowledge, printed and other media, and referral resources. Counselors should note, however, that the types and amount of information needed for informed choice sometimes inject confusion and perplexity into the decision making process for clients. Counselees with a surfeit of information related to the content of decision making face "within choice" dilemmas. For example, after deciding to pursue further study, the student may debate, "Should I go here or there; take this or that; begin now or later; attend full or part time." It is in situations such as this that the counselor can be of prime assistance to the client by helping him or her to make wise trade-offs and compromises. The process of weighing alternatives would be greatly facilitated with outcome data from the sort of values/needs clarification discussed earlier.

In occupational and career decision making the client is faced with two dominant issues related to what he or she wants to do. First, as Haugsby and Schulman (1978) note, "I want to be" statements connote a concept of self-identity and social position that the individual wishes to achieve. Second, "I want to be" prescriptions tend to dictate the place in which the profession or occupation is

practiced. Also forged by one's personal decision making are notions of study and preparation related to the occupational choice made. Counselors might advantageously use awareness of these position, environment, preparation and entry issues in decision making discussions with youths.

Shertzer (1981), in discussing career planning, stated that "the best coping behavior is vigilance." He felt that "vigilant decision-making occurs when people believe that (1) a choice should be made, (2) they can find a solution, and (3) there is enough time" (p. 284).

Shertzer also cited the following steps as being helpful to those involved in career planning:

1. Study yourself.
2. Write career ideas down.
3. Set up some hypotheses or predictions about yourself in a career.
4. Become familiar with the pathways for entering occupations that interest you.
5. Review your plans and progress periodically with another person.
6. If you choose a career that does not fit you, you can start over.

(p. 284-286)

Donald and Carlisle (1983) developed a listing of "Diverse Decision Makers" for use with college students in decision making matters. The list includes Hasty Harry, Rebecca the Rebel, Last Minute Louie, Willy Nilly, and Olive De Above, among 13 others. The authors feel that the "diverse types," as illustrations of some of the underlying difficulties in student decision making, serve as springboards for discussion and help students see the humor in their situations.

Jew and Tong (1976) produced a career planning guide that helps students deal with the elements of concern in occupational decision making activities. Eight units are covered in the guide which address personal and environmental issues related to the task. The topics are work interest, past experience, preferred working conditions, values, pay, expenses, attitudes, and goal setting. The guide also has included student inventories, a teacher's manual, and a brief job guide for youths with limited education.

Flum (1966) proposed an interesting model for classifying factors capable of influencing choice. This model, which should have additional utility in helping youths

make career decisions, grouped influences on choice into the following categories: (1) inner directing factors, (2) inner limiting factors, (3) outer directing factors, and (4) outer limiting factors. Inner directing factors include security and status desires, preferences, needs, and interests related to becoming someone. Inner limiting factors relate to one's aptitudes, abilities, skills, motivation, and self-awarenesses which constrain or enhance one's chances of learning and progressing in a variety of educational and occupational settings. Outer directing factors include parents, peers and significant others in one's social class and community who direct, expect, or reward one's actions. Lastly, outer limiting factors relate to one's opportunities with their concomitant education and training requirements for entry. These factors describe the individual counselee's degrees of freedom to choose related to actual and perceived conditions. Such conditions are as much a matter of one's perception of free choice as they are the actual environmental opportunities of the client. To be free, choice must be informed and the individual must feel able to choose among alternatives unencumbered by feelings of inferiority and inadequacy. As such, these matters deserve the counselee's and the counselor's attention.

We will also include here some classroom strategies which promote the decision making competence of young decision makers.

1. Have students take specific steps to implement a career-based decision prior to leaving high school (such as make application to a particular job and/or post high school training program, engage in job and/or college interview, and so on).
2. After reading a vocational biography, have students describe how a career decision made by the subject influenced areas of his or her life, such as choice of friends, family life, location of residence, and so on.
3. Have students construct an occupational family tree in which they research the occupations held by each of their grandparents, parents, and siblings. Have them examine gender-specific reasons for choices as appropriate. Apply specific questions to the tree: Which family member am I most like? Why? What do your family members want you to choose? Why?
4. After reading a biography in which the "career pattern" of a famous individual is described, have students identify the decision points in that

person's life, the various occupational roles played, and the various stages of preparation leading to each specific role. Have students use this information in the preparation of a written assignment describing the "career pattern" of the subject in question.

5. Use the decisions and outcomes curriculum prepared for the College Entrance Examination Board as the basis for a group guidance unit on decision making.
6. Have the students write a long range career plan identifying the specific steps each must take to reach preferred future goals.
7. Have each student develop in writing a plan of access to his or her next step after high school, either educational or occupational, listing possible alternatives, whom to contact, application dates, capital investment necessary, and self-characteristics to be included on applications or resumes.
8. Drawing on past experiences in decision making, have students discuss how a decision was influenced by some external factor (family, friends, geography).
9. Discuss the kinds of decisions people of varying age groups must make: 5-, 10-, 18-, 21-, 35-, 50-, 65-year-old persons. Relate these to long term planning concerns.
10. Present students with a series of hypothetical situations describing an individual with a decision making dilemma (an individual who wants to be a professional athlete but has not displayed sufficient ability). Have students discuss and consider what compromises exist.
11. Given information concerning labor force trends from 1970 to 1990 or beyond, have the students discuss ways these trends might affect their own career selections (Herr & Cramer, in press).

Job Search Techniques

We have already discussed job search activities such as the Job Club and the concepts used in the WIN program by the Department of Labor. Wegmann (1979b) also reported on a similar program, operated with CETA funds, which has been called the Job Factory. The Job Factory was operated by the Cambridge, Massachusetts,

Office of Manpower Affairs. The program was based on research findings that showed that employment prospects of the unemployed are affected mainly by the quality and quantity of the unemployed's job seeking efforts. The research also suggested that the unemployed lack knowledge of effective job finding methods, communication skills necessary to present themselves as desirable job applicants, and the confidence and drive to conduct an aggressive job search.

The Job Factory, like the Job Club, defined job search as a full time job, and participants "punched in" at 8:00 a.m. and out at 4:30 p.m. The director of the program was called "foreman," trainees were "workers," and training allowances were referred to as "wages." The first few days of participation were spent in classroom sessions. Resumes were prepared and practice interviews were videotaped and critiqued. By the third day, a job search plan was prepared, prospective employers were identified and the "worker" began phoning for interviews. Telephoning skills had to be taught as well as skills in completing application forms. A job interview checklist was provided to applicants to help prepare them for interviews. Advice included: "get a good night's rest, dress neatly, maintain eye contact, bring something to read because you may have to wait, don't smoke, sell your skills, ask questions about the position and the company, never make negative comments about previous employers, address the interviewer by name, and communicate unequivocally that you want to work" (Wegmann, 1979b, p. 204).

After training, those still looking for work punched in at 8:00 a.m. and left by 9:00 a.m. to follow up on job leads and interviews for jobs. They returned to the factory in the late afternoon to review job search techniques and experiences. They, too, punched out at 4:30 p.m.

Wegmann reported that of 159 CETA eligible persons to go through the Job Factory between May 1976 and June 1978, 66 percent found employment. Because of its success, other Job Factory centers were opened, and a Job Shop was developed. It was a shorter workshop for job-ready clients who were not paid a stipend. Job Shop clients worked on their own with a job placement counselor after initial group sessions. As of June 1979 the Job Shop had placed 79 percent of its clients. A special Job Factory for youth was created. It was found that the first group of trainees were twice as likely to find permanent employment as a control group.

Wegmann, in the same article, reported on the Self-Directed Placement Corporation, a profit making corporation operating in San Diego which was very similar to the Job Factory and Job Club in its design. The program was so successful that similar centers were planned for other American cities. The director of the program states that there are two things necessary to obtain employment. First, get an interview with a potential employer, the easy part. Second, the critical part, know what to do during the interview. Such prescriptions have implications for counselors and schools working with youths in job search activities.

The Springfield, Oregon, Public Schools (Cleveland, no date) have produced a job placement guide for high school and college age youths to assist them in interviewing and other job hunt techniques. The guide offers job finding suggestions, checklists and inventories, resume forms and sample resumes for students' self-study. It offers exercises related to (1) personal selves inventory--the physical, emotional, intellectual, and social self; (2) job evaluation--conditions, where to find openings, seven steps to employment, and placement services; (3) interviewing--getting ready, knowing your work and school records; (4) resume preparation; (5) job success--things to remember on the job, why people lose jobs.

Powell (1981) produced a career planning guide which addresses career planning, career organizing, and career control issues. Decision making, resume preparation, job search, interviewing and employment communications are only some of the many career topics discussed. In a similar manner, Barlow (1981) produced The Job Seekers' Bible. The book tells readers how to sell themselves in the labor market through use of a variety of job hunting and job retention techniques. An instructor's guide and activity book were also prepared for use with The Job Seekers' Bible.

Kjeldsen (1978), Director of Personnel for Permacel, a Division of Johnson and Johnson, in writing about seeking the first job, offers youths the following suggestions for interviewing:

1) Always be sure of the exact time and place of the interview. Allow time for taking care of unexpected emergencies. It's best to plan to arrive 15 minutes early, since the interviewer might be running ahead of schedule. Late arrival for a job interview is almost never excusable.

2) The applicant should know a little about the company and its products whenever possible. This will help them to have something to say other

than only talking about themselves. I'm certain that the school's placement office or guidance counselors can help in this area.

3) Neatness, cleanliness and proper attire are essential and are self-explanatory.

Although it is difficult for an applicant to rehearse his or her role for an employment interview, the best guide is to rely on one's own native courtesy and good sense.

There are some basic rules and situations common to most interviews. For instance:

1) Nervousness is normal for most people during an interview. It may help your student to realize that the interviewer has a genuine interest in each applicant since there is a job to be filled.

2) Your students should be ready for at least one surprise question right at the start:

   a) What can I do for you?
   b) Tell me about yourself.
   c) Why are you interested in this company?

If your students think these are easy questions to answer without some previous thought, ask them to try it.

3) Questions should not be answered with just a yes or no because the interviewer will not be able to learn enough about the applicant to make a hiring judgment.

4) It is important that the applicant sit up straight, be alert, and look the interviewer in the eye to show that he or she is an intelligent listener as well as talker.

5) A few interviewers like to do most of the talking and judge their applicants by their reactions. Other interviewers hardly speak at all; these will be the most difficult types of interviews for your students to deal with.

In any interview, the best guide is to rely on one's own native courtesy and good sense. In the last analysis, our young people must know they will have to "sell" themselves to the employer.

Remember the two questions which are uppermost in any interviewer's mind: (1) Why are you interested in the company, and (2) what can you offer.

The type of questions asked by an interviewer are designed to determine an applicant's personality, strengths, weaknesses, compatability with other people, work experience, motivation, and most importantly, if the applicant and job are right for each other.

Examples of the type questions asked:

1) What are your future vocational goals?
2) In what school activities have you participated?
3) What do you do in your spare time or what hobbies do you have?
4) What type of prior work experience have you had? Why did you leave?
5) What school courses did you like best and least?
6) Do you prefer working alone or with other people?
7) Do you like routine work?
8) What did you think of your previous employer?

As a further example, Clark (1975) recommended that a curricular infusion be made in schools which would develop the abilities and competencies of young job seekers to obtain employment. He suggested that in curricula the following emphases be addressed:

A. Orientation to Career Entry Skills
   1. Need for career strategy
   2. Place of career entry skills in career strategy
   3. Overview of activities in CES unit
B. Personal Inventory Taking
   1. Skills, experience, training, education
   2. Likes, dislikes, work or job preferences
   3. Interests, activities, personal data, references
C. Resume Production
   1. Importance and functions
   2. Format and organization
   3. Drafting and revising
   4. Final copy and reproduction
D. The Job Campaign
   1. Organized approach
   2. Research: employers and job opportunities
   3. Search methods: successful and less successful
   4. Covering letters
   5. The job interview (pp. 127-129)

Wegmann (1979a), in writing about job assistance programs in schools, noted that "most people find looking for work to be a discouraging, demoralizing, even ego-destroying process, very difficult to sustain at a high level of effort for any period of time" (p. 272). Such an observation suggests the advocacy, reinforcement, and support needed by youths as they prepare for job search and entry into the labor force.

In summary, the following might be said to be the best advice counselors can give to job seeking youths: "Keep your knows to the grindstone."

Know your occupational values and needs.

Know what you are looking for in a job.

Know what jobs exist in your community.

Know what jobs are available.

Know who can be instrumental for you in finding a job.

Know how to assess your job hunt networks.

Know how to find job leads.

Know how to apply for a job.

Know how to complete job applications.

Know how to interview for a job.

Know how to prepare your resume.

Know how persistent to be in following up on applications submitted.

Know how to use your personal job search experience to better promote job search success.

Knowing means being informed. The need for such varied types of information and skills relative to job search enterprises suggests the importance of the activity. The varied nature of the skills required suggests the content of job search curricula and job search counseling sessions.

Again, we offer classroom strategies to improve youths' job search skills.

1. Have students engage in mock job interviews.

2. Have students prepare a resume listing the various skills they possess.

3. Devote a section of the school newspaper to profiling the skills and abilities of selected graduating seniors, to posting job openings, and to providing various job tips.

4. Have students complete a sample job and/or college application, write a job resume, and successfully roleplay a job and/or college interview.

5. Create a job finding club for seniors to facilitate the learning of job search and related procedures.

6. Establish a placement service to provide (part time, summer or simulated) job experiences for students to try out job skills.

7. Have resource persons from the local Bureau of Employment Security discuss such matters as local employment trends, unemployment rates, and related factors.

8. Establish a Rent-a-Kid activity program to facilitate the development and information about part time jobs in the community.

9. Cooperate with the local Bureau of Employment Security to establish a program designed to inform students of information concerning local job opportunities (Herr & Cramer, in press).

Chapter 5
OTHER INTERVENTION STRATEGIES DESIGNED TO ENHANCE EMPLOYABILITY

The preparation for employability extends beyond what an individual counselor can do in one-to-one or group relationships with adolescents or young adults. It also encompasses a variety of other approaches which are directly focused on the provision of general or specific employability skills. Some of the major approaches to preparation in this nation and abroad will be summarized in this chapter.

Individual Techniques: Training Provided by Legislation

In addition to secondary and postsecondary vocational-technical programs which train individuals for jobs, there have been a number of non-school training programs for youths and adults. Many of these have been initiated and maintained through federal legislation.

Major pieces of federal training legislation related to non-school employability training have included: the Manpower Development and Training Act (1962); the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (1973) and its Amendments (1978); the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (1977); and the Job Training Partnership Act (1983). A brief description of each follows.

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA) was the federal government's first major move into manpower training for unemployed and underemployed citizens. The legislative action was taken primarily to cope with an anticipated rise in unemployment due to the displacement effects of automation. During the course of the legislation, the rise in unemployment resulting from automation never attained the high level expected (Ginzberg, 1975). The act did serve, however, the seriously disadvantaged of the day and developed their competitive skills in the labor market. It served dropouts and the hardcore unemployed. The program was administered by the U.S. Department of Labor which directed funds to approved private and public schools, employers, and neighborhood groups where training was given. Basic education and skill training were delivered in

both on the job and classroom settings. Trainees received stipends while in school, and many also received assistance for a broad range of other needs, including day care for children, transportation, skill training, referral to jobs and orientation to work.

The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA, 1973) replaced MDTA and transferred decision making and administration of local programs from Washington to state and local prime sponsors. A prime sponsor was a political entity (e.g., a mayor's office, county commissioners) which served 100,000 or more persons in a specific geographic area. This revenue sharing program concentrated on providing unemployed and underemployed persons with work in public employment programs; established computerized job banks; served the special needs of such target groups as ex-offenders, youths, persons of limited English proficiency, and older workers. The program also continued the Job Corps program which began under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977 (YEDPA) authorized four new programs under the 1973 CETA provisions. These included: (1) Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects to help disadvantaged youths complete high school by guaranteeing a year-round job; participants also received career counseling and tutoring; (2) Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects to develop the vocational skills of jobless youths through supervised work on community projects; (3) Youth Employment and Training programs to enhance the job prospects and career preparation of low income youths, who received a wage or training allowance and job information, counseling, and placement; (4) Young Adult Conservation Corps to give young people occupational skills through work on federal and non-federal conservation projects.

The CETA Amendments of 1978 further served the economically disadvantaged, underemployed and unemployed by providing training, education, work experience, job upgrading and retraining. It also provided programs for those with special disadvantages in the labor market, including Native Americans, migrants, the handicapped, women, displaced homemakers and public assistance recipients. The 1978 Amendments incorporated the youth programs provisions of the 1977 YEDPA as well as the Job Corps and summer youth programs. Lastly, the act authorized the Private Sector Initiative Program to demonstrate the involvement of the business community in employment and training activities.

The Job Training Partnership Act

On October 1, 1983, the Job Training Partnership Act of 1982 (JTPA), PL97-300, replaced the last vestiges of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). The JTPA is designed to bring together federal, state and local resources to serve the economically disadvantaged and long term unemployed. The government and private sectors will share responsibility for creating federally funded job training programs to help constituents become productive members of the labor force. The act will serve youths 16 through 21 and adults 22 years of age and older.

Title I of the act establishes the State Job Training Coordinating Council which approves state plans. It also provides for special programs for offenders, rural areas, older individuals, and for energy conservation and solar energy training. Title II relates to local Private Industry Councils (PICs) which monitor local programs. It authorizes training programs for the disadvantaged which can include job search assistance, job counseling, remedial and basic skills education, skill and vocational training, retraining, school to work transition programs, pre-apprentice training and customized training, among others. Also provided for under Title II are summer programs for youths related to counseling, remedial and skill training, and supportive services.

Title III concerns dislocated workers. It provides job training and retraining, job search assistance, placement and relocation assistance for victims of mass layoffs and natural disasters, persons affected by the relocation of federal facilities and to residents in high unemployment areas and designated enterprise zones. Title IV establishes funding and requirements for federally administered programs.

The following list outlines the services which can be provided using act funds. An asterisk (*) indicates that this activity has been previously provided under CETA provision.

Allowable Services

(*) 1. Job search assistance.
(*) 2. Job counseling.
(*) 3. Remedial education and basic skills training.
(*) 4. Institutional skill training.

(*) 5. On the job training.

6. Programs of advanced career training which provide a formal combination of on the job and institutional training and internship assignments which prepare individuals for career employment.

(*) 7. Training programs operated by the private sector, including those operated by labor organizations or by consortia of private sector employers utilizing private sector facilities, equipment, and personnel to train workers in occupations for which demand exceeds supply.

(*) 8. Outreach to make individuals aware of and to encourage their use of employment and training services.

9. Specialized surveys not available through other labor market information sources.

10. Programs to develop work habits and other services to individuals to help them obtain and retain employment.

11. Supportive services necessary to enable individuals to participate in the program and to assist them in retaining employment for no more than six (6) months following completion of training.

(*) 12. Upgrading and retraining.

(*) 13. Education to work transition activities.

14. Literacy training and bilingual training.

(*) 15. Work experience.

16. Vocational exploration.

(*) 17. Attainment of certificates of high school equivalency.

(*) 18. Job development.

(*) 19. Employment generating activities to increase job opportunities for eligible individuals in the area.

20. Pre-apprenticeship programs.

(*) 21. Disseminating information on program activities to employers.

22. Use of advanced learning technology for education, job preparation, and skills training.

(*) 23. Development of job openings.

(*) 24. On-site industry-specific training programs supportive of industrial and economic development.

25. Follow-up services with participants placed in unsubsidized employment.
26. Programs coordinated with other federal activities related to employment.
(*) 27. Needs-based payments necessary for participation in accordance with a locally developed formula or procedure.
28. Customized training conducted with a commitment by an employer or group of employers to employ an individual upon successful completion of that training.

Exemplary Youth Program

29. Pre-employment Skills Training Program for Youth, and individuals aged 14 and 15, may provide youths up to 200 hours of instruction and activities which may include:
    A. Assessment, testing, and counseling.
    B. Occupational, career and vocational exploration.
    C. Job search assistance.
    D. Basic life skills training.
    E. Remedial education.

Entry Employment Experience Program

30. May be up to 20 hours weekly during the school year or full time during the summer and holidays, for a total for any individual of no more than 500 hours of entry employment experience that may be one of the following types:
    A. Full time employment opportunities in public and private non-profit agencies during the summer and on a part time basis in combination with education and training activities. The jobs shall provide community improvement services that complement local expenditures.
    B. Tryout employment at private for-profit work sites, or at public and private non-profit work sites when private for-profit work sites are not available. Compensation in lieu of wages for tryout employment shall be paid by the grant recipient, but the length of any assignment

to a tryout employment position shall not exceed 250 hours. Tryout employment positions shall be ones for which participants would not usually be hired (because of lack of experience or other barriers to employment), and vacancies in such positions may not be refilled if the previous participant completed the tryout employment but was not hired by the employer.

C. Cooperative education programs to coordinate educational programs with work in the private sector (McLucas, 1983).

Counselors and other youth workers will readily note the close congruence between JTPA provisions and the employment and employability issues related to youths and young adults which have been discussed in this monograph.

Economic Schemes

In addition to specific training programs provided by funding from federal legislation, there have been other specific economic schemes directed to youth employability. Among them have been approaches which alter the minimum wage or which propose a sub-minimum wage for youths and adults.

The Minimum Wage. Legislation establishing a minimum wage has existed for various segments of society since passage of the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. Over the ensuing years minimum wages have been adjusted and coverage has been extended to almost all individuals.

The purpose of wage maintenance programs is to protect American workers from exploitation and poverty. Without doubt, such programs have improved the wages of some workers who would have prospered less well in their absence. However, Carter (1978) noted that elevations of the minimum wage reduce employment and raise unemployment; they also discourage participation in the labor force by youths and non-white workers. Carter also notes that there is some evidence that rises in the minimum wage force up other wage rates when unions and other groups demand equivalent pay increases.

Kosters and Welch (1972) note that because of increased minimum wages, teenagers are able to obtain fewer jobs during periods of normal employment growth and their jobs are less secure in the face of short term employment changes. Welch (1974) also found that minimum wage legislation has increased the vulnerability of teenage employment to business cycles.

Minimum wages, then, according to some observers, are responsible for lost employment and opportunity for teenagers. Many youths looking for their first job and its affiliated work experience are short changed. Moreover, Cotterill and Wadycki (1976) found that minimum wage policy has raised teenagers' share of "transitory" employment and decreased their share of "permanent" employment as adults are hired for lower paying jobs when no higher paying jobs are available. Minimum wage rates also force youths from full time to part time jobs.

The costs of the minimum wage tend to continue beyond original entry into the labor market. Ragan (1978) observed that the effects of a minimum wage are compounded for youths over time. When not hired even at the minimum because they lack skills, experience, and work discipline, they are not only denied wages, but also deprived of the very experience and on the job training which would enhance their value to subsequent employers.

The Sub-minimum Wage. Given some of the problems of youth employment stimulated by the minimum wage, the sub-minimum wage or the dual minimum wage as it is sometimes called, has been suggested as a means to stimulate employment opportunities for youths. The concept is couched in assumptions that the worst employment situation is experienced by the least productive new workers. Welch (1974) felt that these employment effects can be mitigated by a lower minimum wage for young workers. Legislation implementing the concept, however, was rejected by the U.S. Congress in 1971 and again in 1974. Proposed legislation regarding the sub-minimum wage never passed the committee stage in 1977, nor even reached the committee stage in subsequent years.

Levin (1980) states that even the present minimum wage for adults is inadequate for providing an acceptable standard of living above the poverty level. Many writers feel that a sub-minimum wage structure would shift jobs away from low wage adults to lower wage youths and therefore reduce employment among adults presently working at minimum wages. A prevailing view of the effects of the

sub-minimum wage is summarized by a Business Week report ("Would the 'tweenwage'," 1977) in which the AFL-CIO executive council states that "a youth sub-minimum wage would increase unemployment among household heads" (p. 16).

Ragan (1978) felt that employers are unlikely to respond to a youth wage differential by replacing mature and experienced adult workers with younger ones. He did contend, however, that some substitution of inexperienced youths for inexperienced adults might occur. An event such as the passage of a sub-minimum wage structure with its attendant potential substitution of one group of workers for another would force society to decide the value of an unemployed youth vs. an employed adult.

The sub-minimum wage is an issue that still needs research to answer such questions as: Under sub-minimum wage structures will adults be replaced by youths on lower pay scales? What will be the effect on groups such as women, minorities, and older workers who are likely to be replaced by low wage youths?

Employability Programs in Industry

However valuable legislatively supported training or economic schemes are, there are industry-based programs which also have been very effective in facilitating youth employability. Several examples of these programs follow.

Cary (1978) spoke of the history of the IBM company in providing industry-based skill training. In 1968 in conjunction with the Urban League, IBM started a skill training center in Los Angeles which was soon followed by centers in Atlanta and Chicago. These were developed to improve the employability of minority and disadvantaged youths. To further improve minority youths' transition to work, Cary argued that the nation's skill training capabilities have to be extended; basic skill education must be improved; the counselor student ratio must be improved; teachers and counselors must be oriented to the skill needs of business and industry; and further research on the youth unemployment problem must be conducted.

Bertotti (1978) described the broad-gauged corporate education program for employees of the General Electric Company. In the earliest days of the electrical industry all learning was on the job. Today, training provided by GE's corporate

management occurs throughout the company's 335 domestic and international plants. That training, of varied types, is provided to help employees accomplish their work and cope with new and different job requirements. The following types of training are offered to GE employees.

1. Management training at the Management Training Institute and its 15 regional centers.
2. Entry level programs in areas such as blueprint reading, drafting, office methods, word processing, and computer operations. Bertotti reported estimates that at any given time, 50,000 GE employees are involved in a self-development program.
3. Tuition refund plan to encourage employees to pursue higher education.
4. Cooperative education which combines classroom theory and production work.

Bertotti also reported that the General Electric Company has an external education effort that offers summer fellowship programs to train counselors to better inform young people about career issues. Then, too, the company provides summer programs through the Educators in Industry Plan to enable teachers and counselors to develop better understanding of the world of work. The company also produces and distributes career information and posters to teachers and youths. In addition, GE offers its Program to Increase Minority Engineering Graduates (PIMEG) in conjunction with elementary, secondary, and college level institutions.

Community Employability Programs

Supplementary to employability training in other governmental or private sectors are the many employability skills training programs developed across the nation by Community Work-Education Councils. Gold (1979) noted that it was "legislative frustration, not a mandate from voters" which led to the 1977 marriage of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act and the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act and the subsequent development of non-legislated Community Work-Education Councils.

Councils across the nation involve community leaders, employers from the private sector, and labor and youth service organizations to address young people's transition from school to work. The Community Work-Education Council theme is one of collaboration with community leadership, broad community representation, sharing of responsibility and understanding, and use of available resources.

In discussing the American tradition of cooperation and work-education collaboration, Gold (1979) cited the following examples of work-education council activities which represent the 33 communities and states participating in the National Work-Education Consortium.

o Among the projects of the rural Bethel (Maine) Area Community Education Work Council are three survey and research projects designed collaboratively and likely to lead to a variety of follow-up collaborative activities:

- Surveying the transition needs of youth. With assistance from the sociology department of the University of Maine at Farmington, the Telstar Student Council and Council staff designed a survey instrument to determine how young people perceive transition problems and assistance. With preparation in survey techniques, the students administered the survey to all students in grades 9-12. Data were computerized and analyzed at the university with final reports received in July. The survey, in addition to involving students directly in community discussions of their own affairs, confirmed, clarified or challenged many of the suppositions which supported those initial discussions.

- Surveying present and future demand for labor in the Bethel area. In a rural area, this type of information is almost non-existent, yet is as necessary there as in more populous areas as a basis for informed discussion of realities. A survey was designed by the Council and endorsed by the Chamber of Commerce. The Council identified and hired a retired businessperson to conduct the survey among local employers. As with the youth survey, the data will be used in curriculum planning, career counseling strategies and career education activities generally.

- In a third research effort, the Council arranged for two Economic Development Interns to develop basic data profiles of the six communities in the Bethel area. The interns were supervised by the Androscoggin Valley Regional Planning Commission and made their final report in mid-July. Their work forms a starting point for comprehensive economic development planning. It also broadens the perspective of the labor demand survey to include an awareness of future occupational growth and career potential.

o Individual and industry leaders in the energy field and representatives of business and labor in the Seattle, Washington area

participated along with leaders of local youth-serving organizations and the public in a two-day conference held to explore possible new business and job opportunities from emerging energy conservation programs and energy-related technological areas. The conference also was used to focus on school-to-work transition and youth employment issues in general and to generate community interest in and commitment to the Puget Sound Work-Education Council.

o In conjunction with the Education-Work Council of Enfield, Connecticut, the Chambers of Commerce of Hartford, Connecticut and Springfield, Massachusetts cosponsored a regional seminar on human resources planning and allocation. The seminar involved representatives of the business, industry, labor, education, and government sectors of the Hartford-Springfield region. It was designed to raise levels of awareness regarding area economic issues; to encourage human resource planning in business, industry, and local planners in the area of human resource needs forecasting; and to identify various approaches to human resource planning.

o The Education and Work Council of Erie City and County, Pennsylvania is of some interest because data collection and processing--surveys, inventories, program profiles--have been so central to the Council's self-definition as an information broker and catalyst. The Council consciously avoids direct responsibility for client services delivery projects, concentrating staff and committee energies on identifying, defining, researching, describing and analyzing relevant issues and options. Council members use this support structure to then identify key actors in the community and encourage them to be responsible for program developments. Studies completed include:

- Profiles of Model School-to-Work Efforts
- Study of Local Manpower Needs Surveying
- Inventory of Local Vocational Education Programs
- Feasibility Report on Follow-ups of Recent High School Graduates

In all cases these studies were identified as necessary for gaining insight into resources and institutional relationships and practices at the local level.

In other instances, frequently as a consequence of initial surveys and fact-finding activities, local councils have focused attention and action on providing more accurate, timely career information to young people:

o In the mixed industrial/agricultural area around East Peoria, Illinois, the Tri-County Industry-Education-Labor Council has employed YETP funds from two CETA prime sponsors (Peoria Consortium and Tazewell County) to survey several hundred area employers. The survey is a key element in the development of a localized occupational file for a CIVIS-derived computerized career information program. The survey itself greatly extended the Council's contacts with area

employers, who, with few exceptions, have responded enthusiastically to personalized requests for data. The computer program is maintained by Illinois Central College's Career Guidance Center (funded by the Illinois Office of Education). The Council and ICC have initiated extensive in-service workshops for teachers and guidance counselors in the tri-country area. Thus, this survey is an integral component of the ongoing improvement of career information programs in the area.

o The Mid-Michigan Community Action Council (MMCAC) of rural Gratiot County, Michigan, for example, has operated a number of career information and exploration projects for several years. Building upon an active program of classroom speakers, career days, and job shadowing activities which draw annually on more than 600 volunteers in central, rural Michigan, the Council is currently involved in several experimental projects.

- Project TOES (Temporary Odd-Job Employment Service) was begun in January, 1978, as an experimental general employment referral program for young people, ages 14-19, not eligible for CETA youth programs. This program, deemed especially risky because of the depressed economic climate in Gratiot County, has successfully established solid working relationships with the Michigan Employment Security Commission Office. The project is staffed by a CETA Title VI employee of the Council who works on-site at the MESC office and brokers referrals and information between local schools, MESC, and employers. The Council initiated contacts with the local 4-H organization to link the TOES project with skill training for youths seeking part-time work.

- Volunteer Media Bank Videotaping: During mid-1978, staff of MMCAC began taping interviews with local workers such as a truck driver, farmer, lawyer, and a doctor. Twelve of these videotapes have now been produced. They are field tested for classroom impact with middle-school and high-school teachers. Then, in cooperation with the Michigan Employment Security Commission, the videotapes are aired over local cable television along with information on current job openings, employment counseling segments and live interviews. The tape is housed in the Regional Educational Media Center where it is available for use by teachers in a three-county area. The media bank conserves the energy of popular career speakers while making their unique presentations available as one teaching option.

- Job Fair Bus: Two years of work went into the development of this idea to make career exploration materials accessible to all K-8 students in Gratiot County. The FAIR Bus has mobile displays, slide-tape shows, games, texts, and related curricular activities. Schools "book" the bus at no cost and receive in-service training from Council staff. One school system has agreed to provide labor maintenance service for the bus, while the Council carries materials costs.

- The annual "Career Days" is a unique County-wide venture when, for two days, almost 800 students shadow volunteer adult

workers. The logistical arrangements are complex with so many sites in use and with most volunteers providing transportation for students. Both schools and employers have emphasized their preference for the two-day "event" rather than spreading the visits over a whole year in small numbers. The special event aspect also gives greater public visibility and importance to the concepts of career exploration. Students and volunteers clearly prefer personal shadowing to the alternative large group, in-school career fair concept.

o In Oakland, California, the Community Careers Council has developed a clearinghouse of information on all kinds of work experience, job placement, career counseling and related resources. The Council conducted the first comprehensive survey in the Oakland area of organizations providing education-work services for young people. To everyone's amazement, several hundred such organized programs existed. The Council will not duplicate any of these programs. Rather, the survey and the Clearinghouse developed out of the survey are the first steps toward systematic information sharing and planning among these groups. In the process, the Council staff are also acting as a referral service for inquiries from young people in Oakland.

o In Wayne County, Michigan, the Work-Education Council of Southeastern Michigan played the central organizing, catalytic role in bringing the Michigan Occupational Information System (a state developed computerized program) into Wayne County. Because of the Council, prime sponsors, school districts, libraries, colleges, and youth service agencies have all worked together--many for the first time.

- That same council has organized career change workshops for pink-slipped teachers, has established teacher-in-industry in-service training programs, has involved business persons and labor persons in school curriculum development, and brought three colleges together with the Council and Wayne County Office of Manpower to develop a winning Youthwork proposal designed to provide intensive career counseling and work experiences for in-school youth. (pp. 7-10)

Jolly (1983) described a community-based structure which has trained one-half million persons who today earn over four billion dollars a year. That structure is the Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OIC). The program began in Philadelphia in 1964 and today has 120 programs operating in the United States and Africa.

OIC programs serve dropouts, the drug-addicted, ex-offenders and others with social disadvantages in urban and rural settings. The programs have community roots and are tied to the business community's openings and needs. The OIC program addresses attitudinal and behavioral changes (general employability skills) needed by

clients to make successful transitions to both skill training and work settings. Program assistance is delivered through counseling, training, job development, job placement and follow-up activities. Training in OIC programs includes exposure to employability skills, the value of work, and appreciation of the free enterprise system. The OIC program builds bridges between the OIC, schools, agencies, and other institutions in the community. Of particular note is the OIC linkage to vocational education programs and its interest in collaborative endeavors and comprehensive planning to serve the disadvantaged.

Other community activities are agency efforts to address the employability needs of youths and adults. For example, Mallory and Holder (1978) reported on a program which used instructional modules to train youths aged 14 to 21. The program was a CETA sponsored youth project which addressed self-awareness, vocational awareness, coping skills, and job and employability skills development. The project produced significant improvement in youths' decision making and career planning activities following computerized instruction and career classes. A 75 percent increase was demonstrated in youths' coping skills in both school and work settings. They also made equal gains in skills pertinent to locating job opportunities, developing resumes, and interviewing for jobs.

In a similar vein, Sprengel and Tomey (1974a, 1974b) reported on a Neighborhood Youth Corps program for in-school potential dropouts. Project youths received intensive counseling and were given jobs in the private sector to encourage schooling and to promote their employability upon graduation. Young people involved in the program improved significantly in school achievement, lowered their rate of absence from school, and achieved higher employment rates after graduation than students in control groups.

In another industrial and private sector program, a Jobs for Youth, Inc. project served out-of-school, out-of-work youths in New York City (Hittleman, 1979). The project provided youths with skills needed to make a successful transition to work. Academic skills and work skills were correlated, and counseling and job placement were provided. The holding power of the project's Right-to-Read Reading Academy was improved with the use of stipends and job placements.

Macy (1978) described a program created to respond to adults who were no longer in school or college—the educational brokering service of the Regional

Learning Service of Central New York State. This brokering service promoted collaboration among colleges, secondary schools, and business and labor, and selected and trained counselors in career counseling. Services to clients were provided in all areas of educational need, including guidance, counseling, information, and workshops. While some adults used the service to plan secondary school, college and graduate programs of study, it was found that most sought help with career planning and occupational concerns.

School-based Employability Programs

In addition to the vocational and work preparation programs offered in varied community settings, many schools provide general employability programs to address needs other than those served in occupational skills development programs. As early as 1966, Anderson reported on a program developed by the Minneapolis Public Schools to serve low income graduates and dropouts. Participants in the project received vocational guidance and job placement assistance and were also encouraged to return to school. Curricular modifications to serve them included a special summer program for the dropouts.

Inner city youths of Detroit were served in a project which provided industrial experience (Wayne State University, 1967). Youths received guidance services and occupational information which helped them learn about local job sources and types. Using the facilities of a local vocational high school, they were exposed to industrial techniques and processes. Over the summer they manufactured useful items for local nonprofit organizations. Items manufactured included: game boards, plaques, sewing boxes for home economics classes, file boxes, and music stands. Work on the project exposed youths to industrial work techniques and skills, and their attitudes and aspirations improved as a result of experience in the program.

Karnes (1978) studied the effects of youths' exposure to cooperative educational programs (joint educational efforts using school and work settings for instruction) in South Central Mississippi. Issues in the study concerned the amount and type of part time work, the reactions of youths and their parents, and the relationship of part time work to youths' schooling and career plans. Also studied were the barriers to part time youth employment.

Cooperative education and part time work experience were found to improve students' and parents' attitudes toward work and student preparation for it. Cooperative education was judged as being instrumental in enhancing both school and work experiences of employed youths.

Finally, youth counselors who are interested in transition to work and employability issues will find Youthwork's (1980) review and synthesis report a rich resource. Described in the report are school, agency, and industrial programs of employability training that have been evaluated as successful. Another useful resource is Mangum's (1978) report which identifies program strategies that seem to be effective, and those that are ineffective, in promoting employability and successful school to work transitions.

Need for Collaboration in Employability Training

This chapter has demonstrated that employability training is delivered in many ways in many settings. It is not reasonable, however, to believe that any one public or private agency or institution alone, or a few of them together, can remedy youth problems related to general or specific employability skills. Efforts which attend, for example, only to vocational skills development or job awareness skills would have little effect if jobs do not exist, or if placement assistance is deficient. What is needed in facilitating youth employability is the development of collaborative efforts and structures to promote better understanding of employer and employee needs and educational programs available to address them.

Godwin (1976), in citing studies related to youth unemployment, noted:

> The basic conclusion which emerges from the experience with manpower programs in general and manpower programs for youth in particular is that, despite the inadequacies of past and present programs, the logic of these programs has not been disproven and many lessons have been learned which can be used to design an effective array of employment and training strategies to complement monetary and fiscal policies in a comprehensive program to achieve full employment. (p. 153)

Clark (1976) cited the increasing attention to linkages between educational institutions and the marketplace in preparing youths for work. He urged education and industry to collaborate in creating a system to address the following areas: career education staff development; curricular reform related to career education concepts; job placement efforts; job development; and career information and resource centers. He felt that local industry-education councils could be instrumental in these linkage efforts.

The National Council on Employment Policy (1980) studied how CETA sponsors implemented the YEDPA provisions related to Community Conservation Programs and Youth Employment and Training Programs. In the analysis of 37 CETA programs, it was found that while community organizations were "thoroughly involved" in youth programs, educational agencies, private sector employers and labor groups were minimally involved in collaboration. It seems that any and all efforts related to youth and adult employability training schemes should involve representatives of all community groups associated with the issue. As the 1982 Youthwork, Inc. report stated, true partnerships, not just relationships, must be fostered. Partnerships, when operating, can address broad value, policy and delivery issues related to employability and work transition. The partners can decide what needs to be done, what can be done, who can do it, and how other partners can help.

Partners would be better able to inform others in the partnership of the broad ramifications of the fact that employability skills change. While extremely valuable, they are not permanent. Skills needed in jobs change due to technological innovation. Workers are mobile, they change jobs and geographic regions. Work styles and lifestyles change. Employability skills need constant refining throughout the occupational life span. Employability training schemes which are collaboratively planned by representatives of all community organizations can better serve those who face problems related to employment. The cooperative approach will insure that the broad range of employability issues is addressed. Moreover, distressed citizens will be served if they enroll in such programs designed to address their career development and employability needs.

The career needs of American workers related to employability are very diverse. Consider the varied needs for occupational preparation of distressed youths, ex-offenders, displaced homemakers, the handicapped, "redundant" workers, and

veterans. Career counselors will recognize that worker employability needs are broad ranging, that they change throughout life and in different occupational settings. As such, they cannot be satisfied by educational institutions alone. They merit the attention of the broader community.

Selected International Models

Approaches to training, employability, and employment often differ in other industrialized nations of the world from those practiced in the United States. The reasons for such differences frequently lie in the varying political belief systems, economic characteristics, and cultural traditions found in each nation. Therefore, it is not possible to simply transport models of training, counseling, education, business and industrial processes or management from one country to another without careful consideration of whether the conditions which make them effective in one country are present in another. Space does not permit such analyses here. Rather, it will be possible only to identify some practices in other nations, the utility of which might be considered in a national training strategy for the United States.

A rather complex counterpoint to American perspectives on mobility and training is that of Japan. The Japanese employment system, particularly as found in large corporations, is based upon mutual obligations of loyalty and total protection between employee and employer. Thus, the Japanese worker finds his or her identity in belonging to the corporation rather than in cultivating and exhibiting professional expertise. In general, Japanese enterprises prefer to hire young persons who have sufficient motivation and aptitude to learn the skills taught by the corporation, rather than people already equipped with skill and training. Once employed by a corporation, Japanese workers are discouraged from moving and employers are socially prohibited from "stealing" workers from other corporations.

Perhaps the greatest contrast with American approaches is that in Japan jobs are treated as roles assigned to an individual by the employer, rather than as a set of personal skills or activities provided or "sold" to the corporation by the employee. Unlike American workers who tend to use the same skills as they move from job to job or employer to employer, Japanese workers move from role to role, in which skill

requirements may be very different, within the same corporation. In such a context, it is a normal attribute of the environment to view training and retraining as expected; as skill needs change, employees are trained or retrained (Watanabe & Herr, 1983). Viewed through a Japanese lens, if the worker and the employer make a long term commitment to each other, training becomes the means by which human resources are continuously honed and sharpened to respond to the changing needs of the corporation and the role changes which define the worker's career.

There are other international emphases which may also have utility in relation to employment, employability, and training. They include:

1. The European practice of beginning apprenticeship training at age 15 without requiring a high school diploma or General Education Development certificate for apprenticeship registration. The latter prolongs the age of entrance to work and eliminates, for all practical purposes, apprenticeship training for those who have not graduated from high school (Swanson, 1982). Since the high school graduation rate in this country peaked at 75 percent of age cohorts in 1965 and has not moved upward since that point (Green, 1982), most of the 25 percent of early school leavers cannot gain access to apprenticeship opportunities.
2. The acceptance in many nations of Europe, including the communist nations, and in Japan, that formal initial occupational skill training for all young people is desirable whether it is given in conventional classrooms or in work settings (Reubens, 1982). Thus, such opportunities are likely to be seen and planned as part of a total system of initial occupational skill training.
3. The availability of certain industry or firm-supported secondary and postsecondary schools which provide specific technical skills to selected students (Kato, 1978).
4. The availability to young workers of a system of information about firm-specific training and its characteristics which is tailored to the completion of different educational levels (Japan) (Reubens, 1982).
5. The availability in all schools of a working-life course which provides information about and orientation to conditions in the labor market and work environments, occupational safety, industrial democracy, work

participation in management, and personal economics and related issues (Sweden) (Reubens, 1982).

6. Provision of advanced technical training for young adults and older workers for whom a certain amount of work experience is prerequisite in sites controlled by educational authorities, unions and employees (Sweden) (Reubens, 1982).
7. The provision to women who go directly into childrearing and homemaking of retirement benefits and retraining opportunities similar to those provided for persons in traditional work patterns (several Scandinavian nations) (Reubens, 1982).
8. Under the control of educational authorities the use of employer facilities for the training of youths, but not direct participation in production (Denmark) (Reubens, 1982).
9. Subsidies to employers to expand apprenticeships and to offer firm-specific training to unemployed young people (France) (Reubens, 1982).
10. Cooperative education which has a large part of school-based training occurring in actual workplaces (a more universal form of skill training across nations) (Reubens, 1982).
11. Active participation of representatives of employer and worker organizations in planning and operating vocational education courses in school-based training (Reubens, 1982).
12. Career education, general preparation for work, and the transition from school to work as an educational component for younger age groups in many nations of the world (Reubens, 1982).
13. Careers officers who serve the students in a total school district as the placement officer into available training and work opportunities (Great Britain) (Wallis, 1978).
14. The provision in each school of guidance and counseling services that provide current information about the nature of jobs and the training programs available. Such information includes projections of future employment possibilities in various fields and is supplemented by teacher-taught course work on the role of economics and technology in society (France) (Wanner, 1973).

15. The provision of instructional content that integrates the elements of general education and specialized occupational training at all educational levels. From the kindergarten level forward, students learn about and practice occupational skills, learn basic concepts of technology and production, and engage in "Praktika" in all disciplines so they can experience the real situations of different professions (East Germany) (Schmitt, 1975).
16. The constant manipulation by many European countries of mechanisms such as job creation, worker subsidy, tax relief and training in relation to changes in the economic cycle. This effort stems from their commitment to achieving full employment for all workers, including the disabled (Westergard, 1980).

Conclusions

The employability of youths occurs in many ways and in many settings. There is no one right method of achieving the general and specific employability skills which comprise youth employability. Increasingly, employability programs, whether legislatively supported or provided by private industry, go beyond narrowly defined occupational skills training to encompass other behaviors and knowledge which facilitate job search and work adjustment. In many of these programs, counseling is acknowledged as a component of fundamental importance. The roles the counselor can play in facilitiating youth employability are diverse and vital. Chapter 4 has identified some of these roles. Future interactions between counselors and the complexities of youth employability will shape other roles which the counselor can plan alone or in collaboration with others.

EPILOGUE

As we have tried to show in this monograph, career counseling and guidance do not occur in an economic or political vacuum. Their content and, in many ways, their processes are shaped by the occupational possibilities, the achievement images, the work-related questions occurring in a particular society at a particular historical moment. Environments in which work preparation and choice occur are always in flux, changing, recycling. They also differ across work settings and occupations. Thus, youths must be activists in their own behalf. They must be aware that any work requires a personal investment, a commitment of time, energy, training, aptitude and attitude, an openness to change. They must be aware that access to work is competitive. It does not always go to the best prepared person, but rather to the best prepared person who intends to take advantage of the possibilities available and persuasively applies him/herself to the task.

Both getting into and staying in the labor force require skills which can be learned, skills which vary in their relationship to self-management, making choices, adjusting to the organization of work and its sociopsychological requirements, as well as to the requirements for technical performance of job content. Career counseling and guidance programs and specialists have major roles in helping youths identify and acquire the general and specific employability skills which are of personal importance in their becoming credible as workers and in their creation of a career. They need to help youths both anticipate and implement employability and in doing so engage in self-creation.

The processes of work choice and work adjustment are not simply given or routine elements of life; they are in their fullest sense ways by which youths create their realities, however positive or negative in outcome. These processes reveal that while we are only young once, we can be occupationally or career immature forever. Youth employability counseling represents the antidote to that condition.

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